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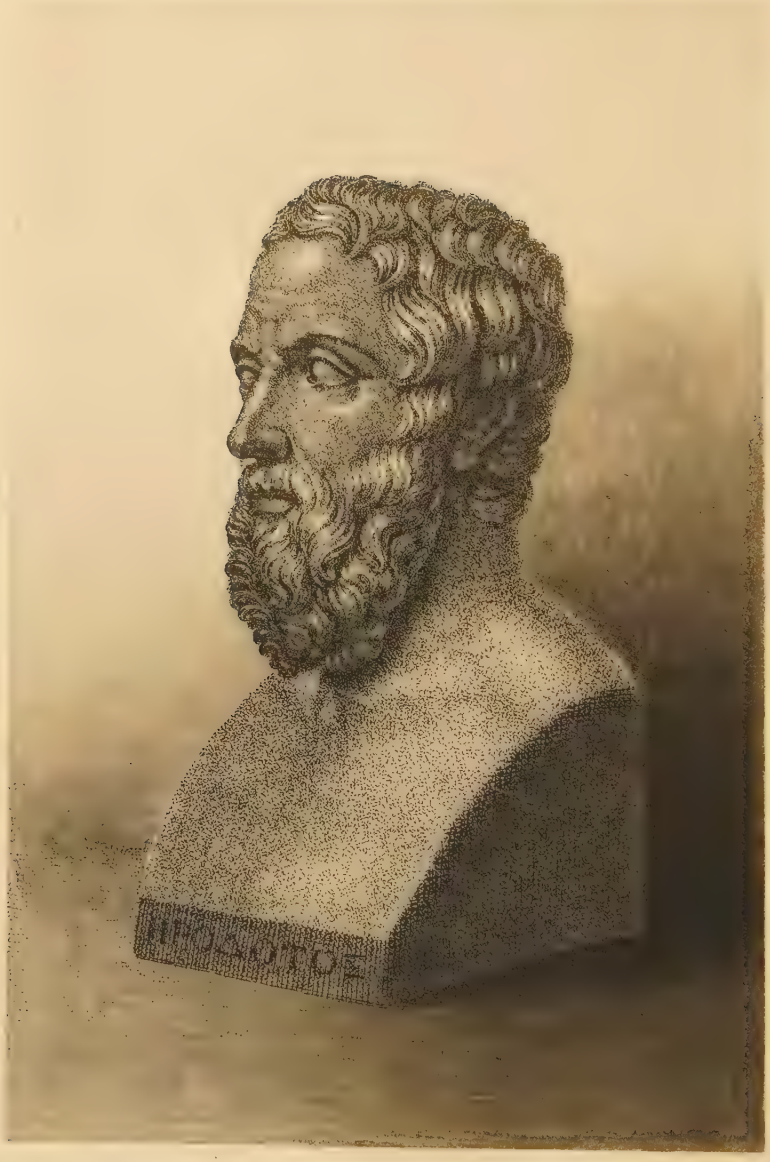
HIPPOCRATE

AND IN RETURN, THEIR HOST TO PAY,
LEFT EACH A BOOK BEHIND."
—Leonidas of Tarentum.

HERODOTUS

From an ancient bust

"The Muses to Herodotus one day
Came nine of them, and dined;
And in return, their host to pay,
Left each a book behind."

—Leonidas of Tarentum.

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GREEK & LATIN

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THE GREEK CLASSICS

VOLUME FIVE

History

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INTRODUCTIONS

THUCYDIDES, THE FIRST CRITICAL HISTORIAN

BY WILLIAM A. LAMBERTON, LITT. D.
PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THUCYDIDES was the first truly critical historian. The little we know of his life, we gather from his own words; and it is characteristic that he has told us nothing but what has a direct bearing upon his work.

He was an Athenian. He was in the full maturity of his powers in 431 B.C., when the Peloponnesian War began, and retained his mental vigor unabated in 404 B.C., when the war ended: it has hence been inferred that he was born in 471 B.C. Through his great-grandfather, a Thracian princelet, he was closely connected with the family of Miltiades, being cousin of Cimon. His ownership of valuable gold mines in Thrace led to frequent residence there, during which he acquired large influence among the natives. In 424 B.C., being a member of the board of generals, he was stationed with a small squadron in Thracian waters, a most responsible command, as a Spartan force under Brasidas was threatening the Athenian possessions in that quarter. The loss of Amphiopolis in this campaign, for which he was held responsible, led to an exile of twenty years, which he spent partly on his Thracian estate, and partly in visiting the non-Athenian regions of the Greek world. In 404 he returned to Athens, but not for long; he soon retired again to Thrace, where he died by violence at some uncertain date, possibly, but not certainly, before 396 B.C. He left his work unfinished.

The teaching of the Sophists, who were insisting that a satisfactory solution of the manifold puzzles of life could only be hoped for by the unfettered exercise of reason, profoundly influenced him: but too independent to accept the dictum of

any master, he did his own thinking and went his own way. His interest centered, not in ethics or philosophy, but in practical politics as he saw it illustrated in the character and conduct of the Athenian empire. The tireless energy of the Athenians in establishing it and the ruthless determination with which they swept away all obstacles appealed to his patriotism and civic pride. His own lifetime had witnessed the struggle for the extension and consolidation of this empire under the leadership of his cousin Cimon, and the subsequent application of its resources under Pericles to the embellishment of Athens and the ennobling of Athenian life. The policy might be criticized as selfish and the methods employed stigmatized as harsh and cruel, but to Athenian feeling the methods were justified and the ends glorious. But Thucydides, while he shared this feeling to the full, could see better than most the reverse of the medal. His residence in Thrace had taught him that what flattered the pride of his fellow-Athenians, spelled oppression and consequent discontent for their subjects. He could discern a feverish restlessness amongst them and a growing impatience for the day when they might cast off the yoke. Nor was he blind to the jealousy which the spectacle of Athenian success had roused in Sparta and the other states outside the empire. His peculiar situation enabled him to view with a certain detachment and disinterested comprehension the various elements, helpful or dangerous, that were involved in the imperial policy of Pericles. He saw that the odious term tyranny was coming to be applied to it by its foes, and worse sign yet, to be accepted with complacency, nay, even with pride, by its own people. And there was this that was new about it: the tyrant was not the familiar individual despot, but a people that was organized at home in the freest form of democracy.

When the occasion arose that was to let loose this hostility from without and this discontent from within, he felt that the crisis was on that would test the solidity of the empire, and he instantly resolved to watch events closely and to take careful notes with a view to composing a work that should record and explain accurately the nature of the struggle and its outcome.

His subject is thus restrictedly military and political, but political solely in the imperial sense; the internal constitutional development of Athens did not concern him. Attic culture, literature and art, social and economic questions lay outside his sphere. This must be carefully borne in mind; for the two points on which he laid stress were relevance and accuracy. A modern would be inclined to regard him as overstrict in applying this test of relevancy; but perhaps this may be attributed in part at least to the austerity that was due to the strain of northern blood that was in him. He felt no call to justify this trait; but as to accuracy it is otherwise: of this he has spoken in terms that will bear repeating: "I have not felt at liberty to record facts on hearsay testimony given by the first chance informant. I have rested on personal knowledge of my own, or on the closest scrutiny of every statement obtained from others." Laborious inquiry from all available sources (these, owing to the conditions, were mainly oral) and critical sifting of the information obtained are the keynotes of his method. Then followed the accurate, impersonal exposition of the facts elicited. He gives us only the results, never the materials. He was not writing a "source-book." Nor would he tickle the ears with mere fine writing: utility, not popular applause, was what he sought.

Thucydides felt the importance of an accurate chronology. He found grave defects in this respect in the work of his predecessors. There was no universally accepted system that met the needs of the case. Each state had its own calendar in which years were noted, as a rule, by the names of the incumbents of certain annual offices, by archons at Athens, by ephors at Sparta. To follow intelligently such a method of dating, a reader would need to have at hand an official list for comparison. Thucydides cut loose from all such methods and devised a most excellent one for himself. He first decided upon a fixed epoch, which he determined by the accepted calendars of Athens, Sparta and Argos; from this epoch he simply numbered the years, noting the close of each by means of a stereotyped formula. The epoch was the date of the Theban attempt to seize Platæa in 431 B.C. This involved also the abandonment of the civil year; for this he substitutes

a natural year, divided according to the necessities of military movements into summer and winter, a summer and a winter making up a full year. Differences of latitude would affect the time and length of these divisions, but within the limits of Greece only slightly; the sum of the two would be unaffected. He was aware of the defects of his method, but reckoned that in the course of the twenty-seven years of the war, his computation would only be out by at most a few days.

A striking feature is found in the speeches. These were always uttered in the open, not behind closed doors, so that no intrinsic improbability attaches to them. Everything turns upon how he got them, and how he has reported them. He is quite frank. Some he had heard, for others he had to depend on testimony of others; but in either case verbatim reports were impossible, for memory is treacherous. So he used his best judgment in assigning to the speakers words appropriate to them and to the occasion, preserving with care the sense of their utterances, so far as it might be ascertainable. An examination bears this out: the language is thoroughly Thucydidean. They are a dramatic means of taking the reader behind the scenes and revealing the character, motives and purposes of politicians and states. A modern historian attains this end by quotations from original documents and correspondence supplemented by commentary: Thucydides fuses documents with commentary. Gibbon and Grote refer to and quote largely from original documents, which at times they discuss in their footnotes: every page of matter is garnished with references to contemporary correspondences enlivened by quotations of significant sentences, also found in footnotes. The device of footnotes is modern. As these writers regularly gather detached passages from a variety of sources in support of their conclusions, so Thucydides selects his speeches or even combines in one utterances that were scattered over many. This enables him to mass relevant material at significant points. The actual words are but a text from which the historian will extract the controlling and characteristic ideas of the speaker's political creed and life. The thoughts are the speaker's, but they have been caught up into the mind of the historian, generalized, idealized, and sent forth again with his stamp upon

them—the stamp of a larger meaning and a wider application.

Thucydides recognizes only the human element in history. Chance indeed plays its part; but this only means that there is always much that no man can foresee. The wise allow for this and even are able to take advantage of it. Weakness and lack of judgment spell failure; energy and sound judgment insure success. The virtues or vices of private life do not count; public acts and political life are his sole concerns. It is as a statesman he praises Pericles; it is as a general he condemns Nicias. Expediency, the *raison d'état,* is the basic principle in the light of which events and men are analyzed and judged.

THE GREEK HISTORIANS

The Greek word *historia* meant "investigation," and this quite correctly points to a common origin of both history and philosophy in the inquiring mind of the Greek. The first seat of historical research was in Asia Minor, where philosophy also arose about the same time, too, that the philosophers broke away from the bondage of verse, historians began to write in prose, and so received the name of *logographi,* "discourse writers." These logographers were chroniclers, or story-tellers, of family and local traditions. They flourished from about B.C. 550 down to the time of Herodotus, who indeed partook of some of their characteristics.

According to Pliny, Cadmus of Miletus (who lived in the latter half of the sixth century, B.C.) was the first logographer. Isocrates calls him, also, the first *sophist,* or wise man. We should denominate him rather the first archæologist, since he wrote upon the antiquities of his native city.

Pherecydes, of the island of Leros, a contemporary of Hellanicus and Herodotus, shares with Cadmus the credit of first writing in prose. His chief work was a mythological history in ten books treating of the genealogy of the gods, the Heroic Age and the origins of the great families of his own time. Only fragments of his works remain.

Hecatæus, also of Miletus, was a contemporary of Cadmus. In his youth he travelled widely in Europe and Asia, and even journeyed as far as Egypt. At the time of the Ionian

revolt he was in his native city, and gave his countrymen the wisest counsels but in vain. After the suppressing of the rising, he succeeded by his tact and management in obtaining some alleviation of the hard measures adopted by the Persians. He died about 476 B.C. The ancient critics assigned him a high place among the Greek historians who preceded Herodotus, though pronouncing him inferior to the latter. He wrote three works, of which only fragments remain. The first was called A Description of the Earth; it was in two parts, one relating to Europe and the other to Asia, Egypt and Libya. Herodotus frequently consulted it. The second was a treatise on Greek fables, Genealogies, and the third was a treatise on poetical traditions of the Greeks, in four books called Histories.

CHARON OF LAMPSACUS continued the researches of Hecatæus, writing separate works on Persia, Libya, Æthiopia, etc. He preceded Herodotus in narrating the events of the Persian War; the fragments of this history reveal him to be a mere jotter down of events.

HELLANICUS, of Mitylene in Lesbos, (490-406 B.C.) was the first logographer who could be properly denominated an historian in the modern sense of the word, since he was the first writer who reduced the mass of current tradition to something like chronological order. He wrote many works on genealogy, local geography, and chronology. His theories of ancient Attic chronology were accepted down to the time of ERATOSTHENES (born B.C. 276), the brilliant astronomer who, through his suggestion of the Julian calendar, became the authority upon chronology for all ages as well as his own.

Other logographers were DIONYSIUS OF MILETUS, a writer of Persian history; XANTHUS, of Sardis, a writer of Lydian history; HIPPYS, of Rhegium, a writer on Sicily and Lower Italy, and ACUSILAUS, of Argos in Bœotia, a genealogical writer.

Twenty years after Hellanicus arose HERODOTUS, of Halicarnassus in Caria, born 484 B.C., rightly called the Father of History, since he adopted a thesis for his work rather than a mere subject, and finished it completely in every detail in a distinctively literary style. His thesis was the inevitable conflict between the Persians and the Greeks, representing respectively

the dominating principles of the East and of the West. In the following pages are given a life of Herodotus, and an essay upon the plan and object of his work, both by Peter Edmund Laurent, and a translation by the same of the principal portions of his first book, relating the conquest of Cyrus of the Ionian Greeks in Asia, and of the second book, describing Egypt and the customs of its people, who were conquered by Cambyses, the son of Cyrus.

THUCYDIDES, born thirteen years after Herodotus, was the first Attic historian. His work, The History of the Peloponnesian War, is the masterpiece and model of all the great histories written during and since his day, both for its noble style and the impartial and thorough nature of its presentation of contemporaneous events. A life of Thucydides, and an essay upon his qualifications as an historian are presented in the following pages, together with a translation of the chief portions of the first three books of his history, relating the origin of the war between Sparta and Athens for Grecian supremacy, and the events of the first five years of the protracted conflict. The articles and the translation are by the Rev. William Smith, a noted English scholar of the Eighteenth Century, who was also the translator of the treatise, On the Sublime, by Longinus (see volume four). Dr. Smith, by his studies, acquired a mastery of English oratorical rhetoric which has rendered his translations of the orations of Pericles and others as set forth by Thucydides in his history matchless in its fidelity to the spirit of the original.

Thucydides did not complete his history, although he lived till 391 B.C., thirteen years after the war was ended by Sparta's subjugation of Athens in 404 B.C. He brought down the history of the war to B.C. 411. For the remaining events we must look to Xenophon and Diodorus Siculus.

XENOPHON OF ATHENS (B.C. 444-355), in his Hellenica, covered the history of Greece from the place where Thucydides left it, to the battle of Mantinea (B.C. 362). It is a dry narrative of events, in striking contrast to his other works. Of these the chief is the Anabasis (March Up), a graphic narrative of the Expedition of the Younger Cyrus, with Greek mercenaries, to seize the Persian throne from his brother Ar-

taxerxes, and, upon the death of Cyrus at the resulting battle of Cunaxa (401 B.C.), of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks (by which the Anabasis is sometimes titled), back to their country under the guidance of Xenophon. A translation of the first four books of this work, ending with the attainment by the Greeks of the shores of the Euxine, whence the return to Greece by sea was assured, is presented in the following pages. It is by Edward Spelman, an English scholar of the Eighteenth Century, whose rendition, though at times quaint, is very faithful to the original. To this translation is prefixed an introduction by Spelman, giving a short life of Xenophon, and a summary of the events preceding the history; and there is affixed to it as a note a dissertation by POLYBIUS upon the Macedonian phalanx.

Other works of Xenophon are: The Cyropædia (Education of Cyrus), a kind of political romance based on the history of the elder Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy. It has no historical value, the purpose of the book being to set forth the education of a model citizen, of which Cyrus is taken as the example, and the ideal organization of a state; The Memorabilia of Socrates, a defense of this philosopher, who was Xenophon's teacher, against the charges of irreligion and corruption of youth; the Apology of Socrates, a speech in which the philosopher is made to give his reasons for preferring life to death; the Symposium or Banquet of Philosophers, a dialogue discussing the nature of friendship and love; the Hiero, a dialogue on the advantages of private over public life; the Œconomicus, a dialogue on the administration of property; and various treatises on the management of cavalry, on hunting, and on statecraft, as well as a panegyric on Agesilaüs, king of Sparta, who was the author's friend.

CTESIAS, of Cnidus, a contemporary of Xenophon, wrote a history of the Persian empire in the Ionian dialect. In B.C. 416 he went to the Persian court and became private physician to King Artaxerxes Mnemon. In this capacity he accompanied the king on his expedition against his brother Cyrus and cured him of the wound which he received in the battle of Cunaxa, B.C. 401. In 300, he returned to his native city, and worked up the valuable material which he had collected during his resi-

dence in Persia, in twenty-three books. The first six books treated the history of Assyria, the remaining ones that of Persia from the earliest times to events within his own experience. Ctesias's work was much used by the ancient historians, though he was censured as untrustworthy and indifferent to truth—a charge which may be due to the fact that he followed Persian authorities, and thus often differed, to the disadvantage of the Greeks, from the version of facts current among his countrymen. Only fragments and extracts of the book survive, and part of an abridgment in the Bibliotheca of PHOTIUS, a Byzantine scholar of the ninth century A.D. The same is true of the notices of the researches which Ctesias had made in Persia on the geography and productions of India.

About the same time, PHILISTUS, a Greek historian of Syracuse (born B.C. 435), an imitator of Thucydides, compiled the history of Sicily from the earliest times down to his own. He encouraged the elder Dionysius, by advice and assistance, in securing and maintaining the position of despot in his native state, but was himself banished by Dionysius in 386 B.C., and lived a long while at Adria in Epirus, busied with historical studies. Recalled by Dionysius the younger, he counteracted the salutary influence of Dion and Plato at that tyrant's court, and brought about the banishment of both. As commander of the fleet against Dion and the revolted Syracusans, he lost a naval battle, and in consequence either committed suicide or was cruelly murdered by the angry populace in 356 B.C. He left an historical work, begun in his exile, called Sicelica, a history of Sicily in thirteen books. The first seven books dealt with the events of the earliest times to the capture of Agrigentum by the Carthaginians in 406 B.C.; the eighth to the eleventh books dealt with the rule of the elder Dionysius, and the twelfth and thirteenth dealt with that of the younger. The last portion, which remained incomplete owing to his death, was finished by his countryman ATHANAS. Only unimportant fragments of this have survived. According to the judgment of the ancients, he departed far from the impartiality of his model, Thucydides, betraying in his work the one-sided attitude natural to his political views.

In the second half of the Fourth Century B.C. appeared

two celebrated historians, Theopompus, of Chios, and Ephorus, of Cyme, both disciples of the rhetorician and orator Isocrates.

Theopompus (born B.C. 378), left his home in Chios about 361 B.C., when his father was banished by the democratic party on account of his predilection for the Spartans. Having been trained in oratory by Isocrates, the young man spoke with great success in all the larger towns of Greece; he obtained a brilliant victory over all competitors in the rhetorical contest instituted in 351 B.C. by Queen Artemisia, wife of Mausolus, in honor of her deceased husband. He afterwards traveled with the object of acquiring material for his historical works. The favor shown him by Alexander the Great induced him to return to Chios at the age of forty-five; but on the death of his patron he found himself again obliged to flee from his opponents, whose hatred he had incurred by his vehement adoption of the sentiments of the aristocracy. He took refuge with Ptolemy I, at Alexandria, about 305 B.C. Here he did not, however, meet with a favourable reception, and was compelled to withdraw, as his life was in danger. Of his subsequent career nothing is known. He composed two large histories founded on the most careful and minute research. Hellenica, the first work, was a continuation of Thucydides in twelve books, covering the period from 411 to 394 B.C. Philippica, the second, in fifty-eight books, treated of the life and times of Philip of Macedon. Of these works only fragments remain. The charge of malignity which was brought against him by the ancients seems to have originated in the reckless manner in which, on the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, he exposed the pettiness and baseness of the politics of the times, especially those of the Macedonian party. There seems to be better foundation for the charge brought against him of being too fond of digressions, for, when in later times, the digressions in the Philippica were omitted, the work was thereby reduced to sixteen books. Theopompus was the first Greek writer to make any definite mention of Rome, speaking of its capture by the Gauls.

Ephorus, who flourished about B.C. 340, wrote a universal history in thirty books, the first that was attempted in Greece. It covers a period of 750 years, from the return of the Hera-

clidæ to B.C. 341. Of this history Diodorus Siculus made an extensive use. The work, however, has perished with the exception of a few fragments.

To the period of Theopompus and Ephorus belong the numerous chronicles of Attic history called Atthides. In these special attention was paid to political and religious occurrences. Among these chroniclers ANDROTION and PHILOCHORUS deserve mention. The former, a pupil of Isocrates, was accused of making an illegal proposal. Demosthenes made a speech in behalf of the prosecution which is extant. As a result of the trial Androtion was banished. Going to Megara he wrote there a history of Athens in twelve books, of which only fragments survive. Philochorus lived at Athens between 306 and 260 B.C. As an upholder of national liberty he stoutly opposed Demetrius Poliorcetes, the conqueror of Athens, and his son, Antigonus Gonatas, who put him to death. He wrote an Atthis, or history of Athens, from the earliest times to B.C. 262, in seventeen books, of which a considerable number of fragments remain. It was highly esteemed and often quoted for its wealth of facts and thoroughness of investigation, especially in regard to chronology.

The great events of the age of Alexander the Great gave rise to many historians. Of these one of the most important was CALLISTHENES.

He was a relation of Aristotle, from whom he received instruction at the same time as Alexander the Great. He accompanied Alexander on his Asiatic campaign, and offended him by refusing to pay him servile homage after the Persian fashion, and by other daring exhibitions of independence. The consequence was that the king threw his friend into prison on the pretext that he was concerned in a conspiracy against his life. Callisthenes died in captivity in B.C. 328, in consequence, probably, of maltreatment. Of his historical writings, particularly those dealing with the exploits of Alexander, only fragments remain; but he was always ranked among the most famous historians. Indeed, his reputation as the companion of Alexander and the historian of his achievements, maintained itself so well that he was made responsible in literature for the romantic narrative of Alexander's life which grew up in the

following centuries. This was translated into Latin toward the end of the third century A. D. by Julius Valerius, and became the main authority for the mediæval adaptations of the myth of Alexander.

Aristobulus also in his youth accompanied Alexander the Great on his campaigns. In his eighty-fifth year, when living at Cassandrea in Thrace, he wrote a work upon Alexander, in which he recorded careful observations on geography, ethnography and natural science. The book is highly praised for its trustworthiness, but only fragments of it have reached us. He and Ptolemy were the chief authorities for Arrian's Anabasis.

An older man, Onesicritus, of the island of Astypalæa or of Ægina, a pupil of the Cynic Diogenes, also accompanied Alexander the Great upon his expedition. By order of Alexander he investigated, with Nearchus, the route by sea from India to the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris. He afterward lived at the court of Lysimachus, king of Thrace. During Alexander's life he began a comprehensive history of that personage, which fell into disrepute, owing to the exaggerations and its false accounts of distant lands. Only scanty fragments of it are preserved.

Hieronymus, of Cardia, was another historian who accompanied Alexander the Great to Asia. After the death of that monarch in 323 B.C., he served under his countryman Eumenes. He afterward fought under Antigonus, his son Demetrius, and his grandson Antigonus Gonatas. He survived Pyrrhus, and died at the advanced age of 104. Hieronymus wrote a history of the events from the death of Alexander to that of Pyrrhus, if not later.

Chares, the chamberlain of Alexander the Great, also wrote a life of this monarch. It was very comprehensive, being in ten volumes and telling in detail the personal domestic affairs of the king. It had the reputation of being trustworthy and interesting. Only a few fragments of it remain.

Clitarchus, son of the historian Dinon, wrote about B.C. 300 a great work, in at least twelve books, upon Alexander. He was notoriously untrustworthy, and inclined to believe in the marvellous; his style was turgid and highly rhetorical, but his narrative was so interesting that he was

the most popular of all the biographers of the great monarch. The Romans were very fond of his book, which was indeed the main authority for the narratives of Diodorus, Trogus Pompeius, and Q. Curtius. A number of fragments of it still survive.

Berosus, a Greek born in Bithynia, who went to Babylon, where he became a priest of Bel, was a historian of this period. He wrote a Babylonian history, in three books, which he dedicated to King Antiochus Soter. It was founded on ancient priestly records, and was frequently cited as indisputable authority by other historians. Only these quotations remain of the work.

This was also the age of the great historian Timæus, who established a lasting claim on the gratitude of modern historians of Greece, by adopting a uniform system of chronology in recording events by Olympiads, that is by periods of four years from one celebration of the Olympic games to the next, beginning with the first celebration in 776 B.C. He was the son of Andromachus, tyrant of Tauromenium in Sicily, and was born about B.C. 352. He was banished from Sicily by Agathocles, and passed his exile at Athens, where he had lived fifty years when he wrote the thirty-fourth book of his history. He probably died about 256 B.C. The great work of Timæus was a history of Sicily from the earliest times to B.C. 264, in some forty books. Of this we have fragments.

It was Eratosthenes, of Cyrene in Africa (born B.C. 276), however, to whom scientific historical investigation is chiefly indebted. He placed chronology upon the firm foundation of mathematical astronomy, and, therefore, while not an historian, deserves mention here in this connection. He is one of the most versatile characters in ancient history, being famous for his athletic prowess no less than for his intellectual attainments, which were many and various, covering the fields of mathematics, astronomy, geography and poetry. His eminence in these studies becoming recognized, the third Ptolemy (Euergetes) intrusted to him the superintendence of the great Alexandrian library, containing all the learned works of the world. The only book of his that remains is an insignificant catalogue of the constellations, but science has pre-

served a number of his most important mathematical and astronomical calculations. Thus, with the imperfect instruments of this time, he determined very accurately the distance between the tropics, and measured the circumference of the earth. In geometry he solved the problem of two mean proportionals. He may truly be called the Father of Geography, for he wrote upon every branch of this subject, physical and mathematical, as well as political or historical geography, and he also compiled a history of the science. His chief legacy to mankind, however, was his suggestion to reform the calendar by giving to the first three of every four years 365 days each, and to the fourth 366. This suggestion was taken up by the mathematicians appointed by Julius Cæsar to reform the calendar, and made the basis of the system of chronology which is now employed by every civilized country.

The labors of Eratosthenes were continued by Apollodorus, an Athenian grammarian, geographer, and historian, who flourished about 144 B.C. His Chronica is the most important work on chronology produced in antiquity. It is a condensed enumeration of the most important data in history and literature from the Fall of Troy (which he places in B.C. 1183) down to his own time. He also wrote a Bibliotheca, a treasury of mythology from the oldest theogonies downward, which is the chief source of our information on the subject. Only fragments remain of his great work in twenty-four books entitled On the Gods.

Returning to the historians who wrote in literary style, Phylarchus should be mentioned. He was born probably at Naucratis, in Egypt, about B.C. 210, and lived long at Sicyon, afterward in Athens. He wrote in popular, somewhat sensational style a great historical work in twenty-eight books dealing with the fifty years from the invasion of the Peloponnesus by Pyrrhus to the death of Cleomenes, king of Sparta, 272 to 221 B.C. His enthusiastic admiration of that monarch appears to be the cause of the severe judgment passed on Phylarchus by Polybius, who represents the Achæan view. His work was much used by Trogus Pompeius and by Plutarch in his Lives of Cleomenes and Aratus. Only a few fragments remain.

In contrast to the style and in opposition to the political views of Phylarchus is the history of POLYBIUS, one of the most important of Greek historians. He was born about B.C. 204 at Megalopolis, the son of Lycortas, general of the Achæan League in 185-184 B.C., and after 183 B.C. Through his father, and his father's friend Philopœmen, he early acquired a deep insight into military and political affairs, and was afterward intrusted with high federal offices, such as the commandership of the cavalry, the highest position next to the federal generalship. In this capacity he directed his efforts toward maintaining the independence of the Achæan League. As the chief representative of the policy of neutrality during the war of the Romans against Perseus of Macedonia, he attracted the suspicion of the Romans and was one of the thousand noble Achæans who in 166 B.C. were transported to Rome as hostages and detained there for seventeen years. In Rome, by virtue of his high culture, he was admitted to the most distinguished houses, particularly to that of Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror in the Macedonian War, who intrusted him with the education of his sons, Fabius and the younger Scipio. He was on terms of most cordial friendship with the latter, whose counsellor he became. Through Scipio's intercession in 150 B.C. Polybius obtained leave to return to his home with those of the Achæans who still survived; but in the very next year he went with his friend to Africa, and was present at the capture of Carthage, B.C. 146. After the destruction of Corinth in the same year, he returned to his native land, and made use of his credit with the Romans to lighten, as far as he could, the lot of his unfortunate countrymen. When Greece was converted into a Roman province, he was intrusted with the difficult task of organizing the new form of government in the Greek towns, and in this office gained for himself the highest recognition, both from the conquerors and from the conquered, the latter rewarding his services by setting up statues to him and by other marks of honor. The succeeding years he seems to have spent in Rome, engaged in the completion of his historical work, and occasionally undertaking long journeys through the Mediterranean countries in the interest of his history, more particularly with a view to obtaining actual ocular knowledge

of historical sites. After the death of his patron he returned to Greece and died in 122 B.C. at the age of eighty-two, in consequence of a fall from his horse.

During his long sojourn in Rome, his study of the history and constitution of Rome, as well as his personal experiences, inspired him with the conviction that the Roman people owed the magnificent development of their power, not to fortune, but to their own fitness and to the excellence of their political and military institutions, as compared with those of other states, and that therefore their rapid rise to world-wide dominion had been in some measure an historical necessity. In order to enlighten his countrymen on this point, and thereby to supply them with a certain consolation for their fate, he composed his history, Pragmateia (Investigation), of the period between B.C. 220 and 146, in forty books. Of these the first two are in the form of an Introduction, and give a compendium of events in Italy, Africa and Greece, from the destruction of Rome by the Gauls to the first Punic War, thus recording the rise of the Roman supremacy. The first main division contained in synchronistic arrangement the occurrences from 220 to 168 B.C.—that is, of the time in which Rome was founding its world-wide dominion through the Hannibalian, Macedonian, Syrian, and Spanish wars. The second division described the maintenance and consolidation of this dominion against the attempts to overthrow it in the years 168-146 B.C. Of this work only books one and five have been preserved in a complete form; of the rest we possess merely fragments and epitomes. This is especially to be regretted in those parts in which Polybius narrates events which came within his own experience. He is the first representative of that particular type of historical composition, which does not merely recount the several facts and phenomena in chronological order, but goes back to the causes of events, and sets forth their results. His work rests upon the knowledge of the art of war and of politics, such as few ancient historians possessed: upon a careful examination of tradition conducted with keen criticism; partly also upon what he had himself seen and upon the communications of eye-witnesses and actors in the events. It sets forth the course of occurrences with clearness and pene-

tration, sound judgment and love of truth, and, among the circumstances affecting the result, lays especial stress on the geographical conditions. It belongs, therefore, to the greatest productions of ancient historical writing, though in respect to language and style, it does not attain the standard of Attic prose. The language is often wanting in purity, and the style is stiff and inharmonious.

Another most valuable source of information concerning ancient history is found in the works of DIODORUS SICULUS (so named because born in Sicily), a contemporary of Julius Cæsar and Augustus. In early life he traveled into Asia, Africa and Europe, and on his return established himself in Rome, where he published a general history, in forty books under the title of The Historical Library. To this labor he devoted thirty years of his life. The history comprehended a period of 1138 years, besides the time preceding the Trojan War, and was carried down to the end of Cæsar's Gallic War. The first six books were devoted to the fabulous history anterior to the War of Troy, and of these the three former to the antiquities of barbarian states, the three latter to the archæology of the Greeks. But the historian, though treating of the fabulous history of the barbarians in the first three books, enters into an account of their manners and usages, and carries down the history of these nations to a point of time posterior to the Trojan War. In the eleven following books he details the different events which happened between the Trojan War and the death of Alexander the Great; while the remaining twenty-three books contain the history of the world down to the Gallic War and the conquest of Britain.

We have only a small part remaining of this vast compilation—namely, the first five books; then from the eleventh to the twentieth, both inclusive; and, finally, fragments of the other books from the sixth to the tenth inclusive, and also of the last twenty.

A great advantage possessed by Diodorus over most of the ancient historians is his indicating the order of time. Writing at Rome, and at a period when the dominion of that city extended over the greater part of the civilized world, he arranges his narrative in accordance with the Roman calendar and

consular *fasti;* but he frequently adds the names of the Athenian archons who were contemporaneous.

With regard to the historical value of the work itself and the merits of the author, the most varying opinions have been entertained by modern writers. The principal fault of Diodorus seems to have been the too great extent of his work. It was not possible for any man living in the time of Augustus to write an unexceptional universal history. It is not, then, a matter of surprise that Diodorus, who does not appear to have been a man of superior abilities, should have fallen into a number of particular errors and should have placed too much reliance on authorities sometimes far from trustworthy. Wherever he speaks from his own observation he may, perhaps, generally be relied upon; but when he is compiling from the writings of others he has shown little judgment in the selection. The literary style of Diodorus, though not very pure or elegant, is sufficiently clear and presents but few difficulties, except where the manuscripts are defective, as is frequently the case.

Nicolaus, a Greek historian of Damascus, also wrote a voluminous history of the world down to his own times in 144 books; it is partly preserved in fragments exhibiting an agreeable style. At the suggestion of the Jewish king, Herod the Great, whose intimate friend he was, and who had recommended him to Augustus (B.C. 6), he also wrote an autobiography of which fragments remain. A portion of a panegyrical biography of Augustus by his hand has come down to us.

With a clear perception that "history is philosophy, teaching by example" (his own phrase), Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an historian of the first century B.C., composed a work in the true scholarly spirit. He came to Italy at the termination of the civil war between Augustus and Antony (B.C. 29), and spent the remaining twenty-two years of his life at Rome in learning the Latin language, in collecting materials, and in writing his history of Roman Antiquities. This commenced with the early history of the people of Italy and terminated with the beginning of the First Punic War, B.C. 265. It originally consisted of twenty books, of which the first ten

remain entire. The eleventh breaks off in the year B.C. 312, but several fragments of the latter half of the hitory are preserved in the collection of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and to these a valuable addition was made in 1816 by Mai, from an old manuscript. Besides, the first three books of Appian were founded entirely upon Dionysius, and Plutarch's biography of Camillus must also be considered as a compilation mostly taken from the Roman Antiquities, so that perhaps, upon the whole, we have not lost much of his work. The intention of the author in writing his history was to give the Greeks a more accurate and favorable idea than they had hitherto entertained of the Roman peopl eand its civilization, for it always fretted the Easterns to have been conquered by a race of mere "barbarians." The work is founded on a very careful and thorough study of authorities, and is one of our chief sources of information upon ancient Roman history in its internal and external development. Dionysius also wrote several treatises, essays and criticisms.

A great historian whose works may be said to belong to Greek literature, although they were first written in Hebrew and then turned into Greek, was FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS. He was born at Jerusalem in A.D. 37, inheriting on his father's side the priestly office and being descended through his mother from the Asmonæan princes. After receiving an excellent education, he was sent to Rome at the age of twenty-six to plead before Nero the cause of several Jewish priests whom the procurator Felix had sent there as prisoners. After securing their release, he returned to Jerusalem, which he found on the eve of a revolt against the Romans. He endeavored to dissuade his countrymen from the attempt, but failing in this, he entered into their plans and took the field as one of their generals. On the approach of Vespasian with a Roman army, Josephus retired with his forces into Jotapata, where for forty-seven days he sustained a siege, surrendering, however, in the end. His life was spared by Vespasian through the intercession of Titus. Josephus thereupon assumed the character of prophet, and predicted to Vespasian that the empire should one day be his and his son's. Vespasian treated him with respect, but did not release him from captivity until he was

proclaimed emperor nearly three years afterward (A.D. 70). Josephus was present with Titus at the siege of Jerusalem, and afterward accompanied him to Rome. He received the freedom of the city from Vespasian, who assigned him, as a residence, a house formerly occupied by himself, and treated him with great regard to the end of his reign. The same favor was extended to him by Titus and Domitian as well. He assumed the name of Flavius, as a dependent of the Flavian family. His time at Rome appears to have been employed mainly in the writing of his works. He died about A.D. 100.

The works of Josephus are written in Greek of such pleasing style as to win for him the title of "The Greek Livy." The most important is a History of the Jewish War in seven books, published about A.D. 75. It commences with the capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes in B.C. 170, runs rapidly over the events of Josephus's own time, and gives a detailed account of the fatal war with Rome. A second work, On Jewish Antiquities, in twenty books, was completed about A.D. 93 and addressed to Epaphroditus. It gives an account of Jewish history from the creation of the world to A.D. 66, in which the Jews were goaded to rebellion by Gessius Florus. In this work Josephus seeks to reconcile the Jewish religion with heathen tastes and prejudices. Thus he speaks of Moses and his law in a tone which might be adopted by any disbeliever in his divine mission. He says that Abraham went into Egypt intending to adopt the Egyptian views of religion, should he find them better than his own. He speaks doubtfully of the preservation of Jonah by the fish. He intimates a doubt of there having been any miracle in the passage of the Red Sea, and compares it with the passage of Alexander the Great along the shore of the sea of Pamphylia. He interprets Exodus, xxii, 28, as if it conveyed a command to respect the idols of the heathen. Many similar instances might be quoted from his work. Later, he wrote another treatise on the Antiquity of the Jews, in two books, addressed to Epaphroditus, in which he replied to an attack upon the Jews by APION, the president of the philological school at Alexandria. The treatise exhibits extensive acquaintance with Greek literature and philosophy. A declamatory story of the Maccabees, the He-

brew patriots, is doubtfully ascribed to him. Josephus also wrote his own life in one book.

The chief of the Greek writers who composed history in the form of biographies is PLUTARCH (A.D. 50-120). An account of his life and work as an author will be found in the succeeding volume of this work, in connection with translations of his lives of Demosthenes and Cicero.

ARRIAN, the philosophical writer, who flourished in the first half of the second century A.D., was also an historian. An account of his life and works will be found in volume four of the present series, in connection with a translation of the Encheiridion, a Greek work, which he compiled from his remembrances of the teachings of Epictetus, the Stoic philosopher who was his master.

At the beginning of the third century A.D., DIO CASSIUS, surnamed COCCEIANUS, wrote a great work on Roman history which has come down to us in mutilated form. He was born (A.D. 155) at Nicæa, in Bithynia, the son of a Roman senator and a Greek mother, and, though his works were Roman in subject, he composed them in Greek. He spent his life largely in the public service, becoming a senator under Commodus, governor of Smyrna after the death of Septimius Severus, and pro-consul in Africa and Pannonia. Alexander Severus held him in high esteem, making him consul for the second time with himself, though the Prætorian Guards had demanded his life because of his rigid enforcement of the consular duties. Growing old (about seventy-five years), he retired to his native country where he composed a Roman history in eighty books, based upon the observations and researches of his lifetime. The history began with the arrival of Æneas in Italy, and came down to the year of the publication of the work (229 A.D.). That portion which extends from the war of Lucullus against Mithridates to the death of Agrippa; that from the defeat of Varus to the death of Claudius; and the last book, treating of the reign of Alexander Severus, have been preserved.

Dio Cassius modeled his work upon Thucydides', but lacks his pattern's clear insight in regard to central viewpoint and sound judgment upon the meaning and bearing of events. His

accuracy of statement of facts, and his care and diligence in research, however, are evident and his style, barring its many Latinisms, which are pardonable in a work by a half-Roman upon a purely Roman theme, is clear and direct. His record of contemporaneous events which came under his personal notice is naturally the most valuable portion of his work.

The last pagan Greek historian of any importance was HERODIANUS, who wrote a history of the Roman Empire, in eight books, from the death of Marcus Aurelius to the beginning of the reign of Gordianus III (A.D. 180-238). Like Dio Cassius, he took Thucydides for his model, and, like him, fell short of the pattern, although his work is marked by accuracy and impartiality. Also, like Dio Cassius, he wrote in a clear style, though impaired by Latinisms.

HERODOTUS

THE PERSIAN CONQUEST OF

IONIA, BABYLONIA AND EGYPT

WITH A

DESCRIPTION OF THESE COUNTRIES AND THEIR CUSTOMS

TRANSLATED BY

PETER EDMUND LAURENT

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE SAME

ON THE

LIFE OF HERODOTUS

AND THE

PLAN AND OBJECT OF HIS HISTORY

INTRODUCTIONS

LIFE OF HERODOTUS

Herodotus was born at Halicarnassus, a considerable town of Asia Minor, four hundred and eighty-four years before the Christian era: he was, therefore, about four years of age at the time that Xerxes quitted Sardis, on his expedition against Greece. He was of an illustrious family, originally Dorian, and both his parents were of high rank in the state. Among his relations was Panyasis, an uncle either by the father's or mother's side: the works of this person have, unfortunately, not reached our day; although he was so celebrated, that some of the ancients do not scruple to assign to him the second rank after Homer, in poetical excellence. Soon after Herodotus had reached the age of early manhood, he entered, it appears, on a course of travelling; it cannot now be determined, whether he adopted this plan of practical education in the design of giving to the world the result of his researches, after the examples of some writers who had preceded him, all of whom came from the same quarter of the world as himself, and whose success in the field of History may be reasonably supposed to have stimulated the ambition of a youth, whose natural endowments were evidently great, and much improved, no doubt, by the education which an illustrious birth placed within his reach: or, whether he merely quitted his country in order to gratify that curiosity which, in minds created for the contemplation of human nature, is an irresistible passion. Be that as it may, to his travels he was indebted for many of the fascinating beauties scattered over his works; from which we gather, that he visited all the most remarkable parts of the world then known—Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Colchis, probably Babylon and Ecbatana, the northern parts of Africa, the shores of the Hellespont, the Euxine Sea, and Scythia. He pursued, in all those countries, his researches with unwearied industry: convinced that circumstances, which at the first view appear trifling, are frequently the cause of that variety which human nature assumes in

different climates, he dedicated the same patient attention to the religion, the history, the morals, and the customs, of all the nations he visited.

On his return to Halicarnassus, he found that his uncle Panyasis had been put to death by the tyrant Lygdamis, grandson of the celebrated Artemisia, who accompanied Xerxes in his disastrous campaign. Thinking, perhaps, his life not secure in his native country, Herodotus withdrew to the neighbouring island of Samos. This voluntary exile gave him leisure, of which it is fair to presume he profited, to arrange the researches he had made in his travels, and to form the plan of his History. But the love of liberty, innate in the Greek, combined with a justifiable desire of vengeance for the death of his kinsman, inspired him with the idea of overthrowing the tyrant, and restoring freedom to his country. Halicarnassus was not wanting in citizens discontented with the tyranny of Lygdamis; the talents and experience of Herodotus gave decision and unanimity to the counsels of the malcontents; and when his plans were ripe for execution, he appeared once more in his native land, and at the head of a formidable party. The tyrant was dethroned, and Halicarnassus might have been free; but the motives which urged the Historian to make this attempt were shared by few among those who had joined in the execution. The men of rank and the wealthy had been eager to overthrow the tyrant, in order that they might get the government in their own hands, and establish an aristocracy. The people presently discovered, that the assumed enthusiasm for liberty was but a pretext to subject them to a yoke still more galling. The virtuous republican, too honest to join the aristocratic party, was looked upon by them with a jealous eye: on the other hand, he was insulted by the people, as the author of a change which they found ruinous to themselves.

The natural simplicity and honesty of his own heart had probably hitherto blinded the Historian to the fact, that patriotism and freedom are the cloaks under which men are wont to hide the deformities of a selfish nature: convinced now by experience, and disgusted, he bade farewell for ever to his ungrateful country.

He proceeded to Olympia: the games were then celebrating, and he read to an illustrious meeting in the Opisthodomus[1] some portions of his History. Although the circumstance is not immediately connected with his life, it must not be omitted to observe, that among his hearers was Thucydides, then about fifteen years of age: the youth, swelling with noble ambition, burst into tears: "Olorus," said Herodotus to the boy's father, "thy son burns with the desire of knowledge." The compositions of the Historian were much applauded. Encouraged by the wages most gratifying to a high and well-formed mind, he dedicated the next twelve years of his life to the improvement of a work destined by Providence to survive long after his own death, and to remain, for future generations, an inexhaustible mine of useful knowledge and practical wisdom. He recommenced his researches and his travels with renovated ardour; and, as he had before directed his attention more particularly to the nations and countries which acknowledged the supremacy of the Persian empire, he now travelled with the same patience of investigation over the various provinces of Greece, collecting the records of the most illustrious families of the different towns of any note.

Having thus brought his work to a degree of perfection more satisfactory to his own mind, he presented himself before the Athenians at the Panathenæa, a festival celebrated in the summer. He again read some extracts from his History; and that enlightened people not only applauded the work, but presented the writer with ten talents from the public treasury. Soon after this second triumph, he joined a band of adventurers, who quitted Athens to found a colony at Thurium, near the ancient site of Sybaris, in the south of Italy.

On his arrival at Thurium, Herodotus was forty years of age; and here, it is probable, he passed the remainder of his days, making various improvements in his History: indeed, several passages are pointed out by the commentators, which were evidently added to the body of the work subsequently to his coming to reside in Italy; more particularly the revolt

[1] The Opisthodomus was a large hall in the back part of the temple of Olympian Jove at Elis.

of the Medes against Darius Nothus, which must have been inserted, according to good chronologists, after he had completed his seventy-sixth year.[1] The period, the manner, and the place of his death are alike unknown; although it seems unquestionable that his tomb, or at least his cenotaph, was shewn on the Cœle, just without one of the gates of Athens, among the monuments of Cimon's family, and near that of Thucydides.

The admirers of Herodotus are disappointed to find that so few details of the life of this great and virtuous man can be gathered from the works of the ancients that have reached our time. It would, indeed, be gratifying to the curious, and instructive to the world at large, particularly in the present age, to be informed by what process of education, and what series of accidents in life, this Historian was brought to unite the highest feeling of devotion and religion with the faculty of penetrating the human causes of events, and to join that patience of research, which spurned not even the most trifling details of human nature, to such depth of thought and quickness of perception. But it is useless to repine at the absence of what was never possessed: it will be more prudent to direct our attention to his writings; in which he may be said, more perhaps than any other of the ancient authors, to be still living; for he dispenses instruction with such a delightful alloy of amusement, and, at the same time, discovers the principal features of his character with such amiable artlessness, that it is impossible to study his pages without feeling a sort of friendly attachment to the man, or picturing to the imagination almost a personal idea of the writer.

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[1] 1. The Lacedæmonian invasion of Attica, in the first year of the Peloponnesian War, book ix. 72. 2. The calamitous lot of the Lacedæmonian ambassadors sent into Asia in the second year of the Peloponnesian War, vii. 137. 3. The desertion of Zopyrus the son of Megabyzus, to the Athenians, iii. 160.

PLAN AND OBJECT OF THE HISTORY

In order, however, to form a just estimate of the art and character of this Historian, it is necessary, first of all, to understand well the method which he has followed; for so extensive and numerous are the subjects which he has handled, that while some can compare him only to Homer, in the art with which he has blended so many heterogeneous parts into one beautiful whole, others deny that he had any fixed plan at all, and emphatically observe, that his History is no sooner read than it is forgotten. To point out all the instances of the nicety of art by which Herodotus has contrived to insert in a narrow compass a panorama, as it were, of the whole world, would be a subject sufficiently extensive for an interesting work. It will not, however, be irrelevant, to give in this place the broad lines of Herodotus's plan of history; leaving the attentive and sagacious reader to supply the deficiencies by his own exertions in the study of the original author.

The ultimate object, therefore, in the History of Herodotus, is, to commemorate the glorious struggle between the Greeks and the Persians; in which the former successfully defended their liberties against the incredible multitudes brought into the field, from all parts of the world, by the latter, whose dominion extended over the whole of Asia and Africa then known, and some parts of Europe. The account of the immediate causes of the war, and the events which ensued after its breaking out, commences at the Fifth Book and is thence continued to the end of the work; occasionally interrupted by digressions, or rather episodes, which serve to relieve the reader's attention, by diverting it for a while from the direct course of the History, and thus, by instructing to amuse.

The most remarkable events tending directly towards the ultimate scope of the History—and they are all contained in the five last Books, may be summed up in a few words. The Ionians, having ensured the assistance of the Athenians revolt from the Persian empire; the Athenians send a few ships to the succour of their descendants; they obtain possession of Sardis,

and fire its buildings. Darius, king of Persia, informed of the share the Athenians have had in the capture and destruction of Sardis, swears that he will wreak vengeance on them: he commences by reducing once more the Ionians, and then despatches a formidable army against Athens. The Persians are beaten at Marathon. Enraged at the tidings of this defeat, Darius makes still greater preparations; but his vengeance is suspended for a time by the rebellion of Egypt, one of his provinces, and finally checked for ever by death. Xerxes, his son and successor, prompted, as is natural in a young man, by ambition, and the counsels of the imprudent, instead of confining his designs to the punishment of Athens, resolves to subdue the whole of Greece: determining to march in person against the enemy, he levies the most numerous and formidable army ever heard of; he mans a considerable fleet; and establishes, for this immense multitude, magazines of corn and provisions on the frontier of Greece; and finally, after two years of incessant preparations, commences his march in the spring of the third. He first receives a check at Thermopylæ; and, his fleet being afterwards defeated at Salamis, he returns into Asia, covered with disgrace. Mardonius, his chief general, is however left in Europe, with the ablest part of the forces: in the following year, Mardonius is conquered at Platæa; and, by a singular coincidence, on the very day of the battle of Platæa, another battle is fought by the forces on board the Grecian fleet, against a Persian army stationed at Mycale, in Caria of Asia Minor; and here likewise the Greeks win a signal victory.

It has already been observed, that these events are the most remarkable of those tending towards the object of the History, and that they are all contained in the five last Books: this is so true, that those whose inclination and curiosity do not extend beyond the desire of obtaining some knowledge of the manner in which the valour of the West, aided by an inscrutable Providence, succeeded in repelling the countless tribes of the East, generally confine their study of Herodotus to the Books which contain the description of the course of the war; and few historians would probably have carried their researches any further. But Herodotus, whose genius for

expatiating eminently qualified him for the investigation of causes, while his natural simplicity of character inclined him to devote his talents to the service of his fellow-creatures, saw that, if he confined his History within such narrow limits, the Greeks would form but an indistinct idea of the difficulties with which their ancestors had to contend. It was necessary to shew them, that the heroes of Marathon, of Thermopylæ, of Salamis, of Platæa, of Mycale, had conquered the conquerors of the world: it was therefore indispensable to present to their view the history of the Persians. Hence the history of that extraordinary and highly-civilized people forms the connecting chain throughout the whole of the Nine Books; to the various links of which, Herodotus, with most surprising art, attaches the histories of the other barbarians, the manners and customs of foreign nations, the wonders of distant lands, and even the antiquities and early traditions of the Greeks themselves.

Deeply convinced that the noblest attribute of History is to instruct mankind by attracting their attention to the mutability of human affairs, Herodotus informs us, that he shall commemorate alike the feeble and the powerful states: "for those," says he, "which of old were great, most of them have now become small; while those which in my time were great had previously been small: convinced, therefore," he continues, in a strain of deep moral feeling, "that human greatness is ever variable, I shall commemorate both alike." Ere therefore we are presented with the records of the victory won by the Greeks over the Persians, we shall have to contemplate a long course of human events, by which we shall be enabled to understand better the real bearings of the question with regard to the importance of the Grecian stand for freedom and, at the same time, be improved in heart and mind by the numerous examples of the instability of worldly greatness.

Crœsus, then, was the first who commenced hostilities on the Greeks; he it was who subjected the colonies of that nation residing in Asia Minor. He is represented as uneasy at the growing power of Cyrus king of the Persians, who had already subdued the kingdom of the Medes, and was marching from conquest to conquest: he draws upon himself the arms

of the Persian hero: he is taken prisoner, and his country subdued.

"The history now proceeds to inquire who this Cyrus was, that overturned the kingdom of Crœsus; and in what manner the Persians came to obtain the supremacy of Asia." The conquest of Lydia had proved them to be a people of some importance: they had, however, but lately shaken off the yoke of the Medes: the Historian therefore goes back to the early history of the Medes, of which he gives a sketch down to the destruction of that empire, by the victory which Cyrus won over Astyages. But the Medes themselves had been formerly dependent on the Assyrians, who possessed the supremacy of Upper Asia during five hundred and twenty years; it was therefore natural that Herodotus should give some account of that remarkable people; but had this been done at the place where they first appear in this historic scene, the reader's attention would have been too much diverted from the history of the Persians, which must now be regarded as the main stream, flowing through the whole work, into which all the others are made to fall: add to which, that an excellent opportunity occurs for completing the vast picture in the account of Cyrus's subsequent enterprises.

Cyrus, having conquered Media, and overthrown Crœsus, king of Lydia, left to his generals the task of subduing the Asiatic Greeks; and marching in person against the Babylonians and their dependent nations, compelled them to submit to his power. Herodotus tarries awhile only on the most important and interesting subjects: hence he does not mention the Bactrii and Sacæ, whom Cyrus did, we know, reduce: and if the Historian expatiates somewhat on the Massagetæ, it is only because the war against that nation was unsuccessful, and led to the death of the founder of the Persian monarchy.

Cyrus was succeeded by his son Cambyses. Proud of his power, this latter marched into Egypt. That country was in those days the most interesting in the world; and it was here that the learned among the Greeks suspected that their arts, sciences, and religion, had their rise: it is, therefore, fair to assume that the Greeks must have looked upon Egypt with nearly the same feelings as we do on Greece and Rome: the

Greeks, moreover, were now beginning to visit Egypt, from motives of commerce, instruction, and curiosity. It was consequently of the utmost importance to give the Grecians a correct idea of that portion of the world: Herodotus, therefore, consecrates the whole of his Second Book to the history of the kings of Egypt, and an account of the productions and curiosities of that extraordinary region, together with the manners and religion of the inhabitants. This history is traced, in a succinct manner, from the most early period, down to that of the invasion by Cambyses; when it merges into the history of the Persians.

After the conquest of Egypt, Cambyses marched against the impostor Smerdis, who had usurped the throne of Persia: his death was caused by an accident. Soon after the decease of Cambyses, the cheat of Smerdis the Magus was discovered: he was put to death, and Darius was elected King. This prince subdued once more the Babylonians, who had revolted. These events of the Persian history form the groundwork of Thalia, the Third Book.

Prompted by ambition, or more probably by the necessity of employing the restless spirits of his vast dominions, Darius formed the design of enslaving the Scythians. Those tribes were but little known, excepting to their neighbours, and the Grecians settled in the towns on the frontier of Scythia: it is natural, however, to suppose that the Greeks must have been desirous of having some information respecting that curious people, particularly as there were already some Grecian colonies settled in Thrace, and on the European and Asiatic shores of the Euxine Sea. Moreover, the Scythians were in that state of barbarous society, to the accounts of which men of all ages, who enjoy the blessings of civilization, listen with a natural eagerness of curiosity. The Historian's description is framed so as to give a rough but clear idea of the government of the Scythians, their manners, and the nature of their country. The Scythians adopted a system of warfare which compelled Darius to retreat into his own states.

But at the time that Darius was carrying on an unsuccessful war against the Scythians, another mighty expedition was undertaken, by the Persians stationed in Egypt, against the

town of Barce, on the northern coast of Africa. This affords the Historian an opportunity of touching on a subject which must have been no less interesting than instructive to his countrymen: it is, the foundation of the Greek colonies in Libya, which began then to assume an important station. This history he likewise traces from its beginning, and continues down to the time of the inroad of the Persians on the Libyan territory. Herodotus knew, also, too well the instruction which civilized nations may derive from contrasting their situation with that of men cramped beneath the oppressive weight of barbarism, to neglect the opportunity now before him of giving some account of the vagrant hordes resident on the north coast of Africa.

All the events here mentioned are necessarily and intimately connected with the history of the Persians; and perhaps equally so with that of the Grecians, inasmuch as they enable us better to appreciate the importance of the noble victories which they won over the Persians; and not only the valour of the other Greek confederates, but more paricularly that of the Athenians, who, to use the Historian's emphatic language, "engaged the Persian at Marathon single-handed, fought and conquered six and forty nations."

HERODOTUS

CLIO [BOOK I]

Herodotus of Halicarnassus here makes known the result of his researches and inquiries: in order that the deeds of men may not be obliterated by time, nor the great and wonderful works, achieved by both Hellenes and barbarians, be reft of renown: among other subjects, he will explain the cause that gave rise to the spirit of war between them.

* * * * * *

Crœsus was by birth a Lydian, son of Alyattes, and had usurped the supremacy over the nations within the Halys, a river that runs between the Syrians and Paphlagonians, from south to north, and falls into the Euxine sea. This Crœsus was the first of the aliens, we know of, that subjected any of the Hellenes to the payment of tribute, and united others to himself by alliance. He not only reduced the Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian settlers in Asia, but also framed a treaty of friendship with the Lacedæmonians. Previous to Crœsus's empire, all the Hellenes had been free; for the expedition of the Cimmerians, which was anterior to Crœsus, although directed against Ionia, was not so much a subjugation of states, as an irruption, having rapine for its object. The empire, which had previously been in the possession of the Heraclidæ, passed over to the line of Crœsus, called the Mermnadæ, in the following manner.

Candaules, named Myrsilus by the Hellenes, was tyrant of Sardis, and a descendant of Alcæus the son of Hercules: for Agron son of Ninus, grandson of Belus, great-grandson of Alcæus, was the first king of Sardis on the Heraclid line, and Candaules son of Myrsus the last. The previous rulers of this country, predecessors of Agron, were the progeny of Lydus son of Atys; from whom the whole nation, originally called Mæonians, took the name of Lydians. The Heraclidæ, sprung from a female-slave of Jardanus and from

Hercules, having been entrusted with the affairs by the above family, seized the power, according to an oracular behest: they ruled for twenty-two generations of men, five hundred and five years; the son inheriting the throne from the father, down to Candaules the son of Myrsus. This Candaules, therefore, was enamoured of his wife: impelled by his love, he fancied to himself that she was by far the most beautiful of all women. I must first observe, that one of his body-guards, Gyges the son of Dascylus, was his particular favourite; to whom he was wont to confide his more important affairs, and exaggerating especially his consort's beauty to this person. Candaules, after a brief lapse of time, (for he was doomed to be miserable,) addressed Gyges in these words: "Gyges, I think you give me no credit, when I attempt to describe to you the beauties of my wife: the ears of men, we know, are more incredulous than their eyes: I will have you see her naked." Gyges, uttering a loud exclamation, replied: "My lord! what unseemly language do you hold, enjoining me to cast my eyes on my naked queen! At the same time woman strips off her garments, she casts off her modesty also. Our fathers of old devised the maxims of virtue, and it is our duty to follow them: among these is this saying, 'Let every man look to his own concerns.' I firmly believe this lady to be the most beautiful in the world, but entreat you not to exact any thing wicked." By this reply, Gyges sought to combat the proposal, dreading that some harm might accrue to himself. But the king resumed in these words: "Take courage, my Gyges: be not fearful that I have any design to tempt you by this discourse: be not alarmed at any disagreeable consequences to yourself, on the part of my wife. First and foremost, I will take care she shall not even know that she has been seen by you. I will place you in the room we sleep in, behind the open door; and when I enter, and my wife follows me to bed, there stands hard by the entrance an arm-chair, on which she will lay each of her garments, as she casts them off: there, at your leisure, you may take the opportunity of looking at her; and when she steps from the chair towards the bed, you will be at her back: then, have a care, and mind she do not get a glimpse of you, as you go out by the door."

Gyges was unable to evade: he held himself therefore ready. Candaules, on the other hand, when he thought it was time to go to bed, took Gyges into the sleeping-chamber; and immediately after, the lady made her appearance, and Gyges saw her as she came in and laid her clothes on the chair: the lady, turning then her back to him, stepped forward to the bed; and he crept softly out; but she spied him as he went away. She saw what her husband had been doing; but modesty restrained her from crying out, nor did she shew any emotion, being determined to have revenge on Candaules: for among the Lydians, and even almost all other foreign nations, it is held a great disgrace, for a man even, to be seen naked. She accordingly held her peace for the time, and made nothing known; but as soon as day dawned, she ordered such of her household as she saw were the most attached to her person to be ready, and summoned Gyges to her presence. He, fancying she knew nothing of what had taken place, came as soon as he was called: indeed, he was wont, even before, to attend whenever the queen sent for him. As soon as Gyges arrived, the lady addressed him thus: "Here, Gyges, I give you your choice of two ways, that are open to you: take which you like: for, either you shall put to death Candaules, and take possession of myself and the Lydian throne, or you shall yourself perish by the hands of these: thus, obeying Candaules in all things, you may hereafter behold no more what is not lawful to you. Therefore, either he that gave such counsel shall be cut off; or you, who have seen me naked, and have done what is not decent." Gyges stood some time amazed at this speech: then he besought the queen not to chain him down to the necessity of such a choice: he was, however, unable to persuade, but saw before his eyes the necessity in which he was placed, either to destroy his master, or to be destroyed himself by others: he elected, therefore, to survive; and so put the following question: "Since you compel me, however against my will, to murder my lord and master, come, let me hear also in what manner we shall lay our hands on him." The queen resumed, and said: "The onset shall be from the very spot where he exhibited me naked: the blow shall be struck when he lies asleep." The plot thus laid, at nightfall (for she

would not let Gyges go, and he had no mode of escape, being forced either to kill Candaules or be himself killed) he followed the lady to the bedroom: she put a dagger in his hand, and concealed him behind the same door: some time after, when Candaules was asleep, Gyges crept up to him, and, inflicting a mortal thrust, won both the woman and the kingdom. [Of this event, Archilochus, who flourished about this period, has made mention, in an iambic trimeter poem.]

[Solon, one of the Wise Men of Greece, visits Crœsus. The rich king, expecting adulation, asks him who is the happiest being he has seen.]

But Solon, not at all adulatory, and referring to experience, said: "It was, sire, Tellus of Athens." Crœsus was astonished at the answer. "For what reason," asked he, pettishly, "do you judge Tellus to have been the happiest?" "Tellus," resumed he, "in the first place, belonged to a flourishing town; his sons were handsome and good; and he saw children born to them all, and all living. In the second place, being in comfortable circumstances, according to our ideas, he met with the most brilliant termination of life that could befal man: for he had gone to the support of the Athenians, in a battle with their neighbours of Eleusis; there he turned the foe into complete rout, and died gallantly. The Athenians entombed him at the public cost, on the spot where he fell, and honoured him magnificently."

Solon having thus admonished Crœsus by descanting thus much on the felicity of Tellus, the king again asked, who was the next to Tellus, he had seen; expecting surely to obtain the second rank, at least. "Cleobis and Biton," replied the Athenian: "they were natives of Argos, supplied with a sufficiency for life; and, moreover, both were endowed with such strength, that each alike conquered in the lists. It is related of them, that one day, the festival of Argeian Juno, their mother was, by law, to be conveyed in a chariot to the temple:[1] the oxen came not from the field in time: the youths, pressed

[1] She was the priestess of Juno Argiva, and, as such, could not lawfully absent herself from the sacred ceremonies.

by their delay, placed themselves beneath the yoke, and dragged the car in which their mother rode: proceeding thus for five-and-forty stades,[1] they reached the temple. After they had achieved this feat, in the sight of the assembled spectators, the best of ends was vouchsafed them; the deity, by their example, showing that death is a greater boon to man than life. For the Argeian by-standers extolled the strength of the youths, while the women of Argos blessed her as the mother of such sons. The mother, transported with joy by the deed as well as by the glory, stood before the sacred image, and poured forth her prayers, that the goddess would vouchsafe whatever was best to befal man unto Cleobis and Biton, her own sons, who honoured her so nobly. After this prayer, when the sacrifice and holy banquet were over, they fell asleep within the sacred precinct itself: they never awoke more, but so found their final repose. The citizens of Argos had their statues carved, and dedicated them at Delphi."

Solon, accordingly, allotted to these young men the second rank in felicity. Crœsus, vexed at this, exclaimed: "What! my Athenian friend, is our happiness thus scorned, and held as nothing by you; so much even, that you have ranked us less worthy than mere subjects?" The Athenian replied: "Crœsus! is it concerning worldly riches you ask the opinion of a man who is convinced the divinity looks on such things with indignation and proneness to change? Let me first observe, that, in the long lapse of time, many things must be witnessed, many suffered, such as one might not wish. For I set the bourn of human life at seventy years. Those seventy times twelve months comprise five-and-twenty thousand two hundred days, without reckoning the intercalatory months. Now, if every other year shall be made longer by one month, in order that the seasons may properly agree in coming round, then the intercalatory months in the seventy years are thirty-five; the days of these months are one thousand and fifty. The sum total of all these days, making up the seventy years, is twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty days, of which not one produces one single thing exactly the same as another.

[1] About four miles and a half.

Thus, then, man, O Crœsus! is but the sport of circumstance. I am, no doubt, convinced that you are immensely rich; that you are king over many nations; but, in respect of what you inquire now of me, I cannot satisfy myself, until I shall have ascertained that you have ended your life comfortably. For the mighty rich man is not so much happier than he who earns his daily bread, unless, indeed, good fortune accompany him through life, to its end, in the possession of every enjoyment. Many most opulent men are miserable; while many in moderate circumstances are blessed with good-fortune. He, therefore, who possesses vast riches, and yet is miserable, surpasses only in two respects him who is blessed with good-fortune; while the latter exceeds, in many respects, the wealthy and miserable. The former is better empowered to gratify desire, and to bear up against heavy calamity: the latter soars above him in these particulars; he is not equally empowered to contend with desire and accident, but good-fortune averts these from him; he is whole of limb, unafflicted with disease, inexperienced of sorrow, blessed with good children of comely features: if, in addition to these advantages, follows a happy death, he is the man you seek for, worthy to be called happy: until he be dead, however, it behoves us to refrain from calling him happy, but fortunate. Still, it is not possible that one human being unite all these advantages; as no country suffices to produce for itself everything, but furnishes some while reft of others, and that which gives the most is best; so no human being is complete in his accomplishments; one he has, another he has not: he who continues to the end in possession of the most, and then terminates his life in peace, that man, sire, deserves to bear the name of happy. In all, it behoves never to lose sight of the end; for to many has the divinity vouchsafed a glimpse of happiness, and then scathed them to the root." Solon, addressing Crœsus in this language, was in no way complimented, but dismissed: he was considered a very untutored man, who passed over present good, and advised to keep in view the termination of every thing.

After the departure of Solon, the dire indignation of the gods visited Crœsus, in consequence, it may be presumed, of his presumption that he was the most happy of men. Forth-

with, a vision stood over him in his sleep, which portended the truth respecting the calamities that were about to befal his son: for Crœsus had two sons; one of whom was grievously afflicted, being dumb; the other, however, was by far the first in all things, among all his contemporaries; his name was Atys. This Atys, accordingly, it was, whom the dream pointed out to Crœsus, that he should lose him, pierced by a sharp point of iron. When the king awoke, and turned over in his mind the occurrence, he dreaded the accomplishment of the dream, and took a wife to the youth; and although hitherto wont to place him at the head of the Lydian forces, he no longer sent him on such business: spears, javelins, and all such instruments as men use in war, he removed from the men's apartments, and laid up in the back chambers, lest any suspended weapon might fall down upon his son. At the time he was busied with his son's wedding, a man arrived at Sardis, oppressed with calamity; his hands were sullied; and he was by birth a Phrygian, one of the royal family. This person entered the palace of Crœsus, and supplicated to receive purification,[1] according to the common laws. Crœsus purified him;—the ceremonies of expiation are nearly the same with the Lydians as with the Hellenes;—when therefore he had performed the accustomed rites, he inquired of the suppliant whence he came, who he was, addressing him thus: "Good man! who are you? and from what part of Phrygia have you come to my hearth? what man or what woman have you slain?" "I am, sire," answered the fugitive, "the son of Gordius, and grandson of Midas; I am named Adrastus; unwittingly I have slain my own brother: driven away by my father, and reft of all, I stand here." Crœsus answered in these words: "You are the child of my friends, and you are come to your friends: abide in my palace, where you shall know no want: and bear with this calamity as meekly as you can; you will be the greatest gainer." Adrastus, accordingly, took up his residence in the palace of Crœsus.

At this same time, a huge monster of a boar made his

[1] It was customary amongst the ancients, for whoever had committed an involuntary murder, to leave his country, and fly to the house of some powerful individual. There, covering himself, he sat down, and entreated to be purified; which done, he became a sacred guest.

appearance in the Mysian Olympus: rushing down from that mountain, he ravaged the cultivated lands of the Mysians. The inhabitants had repeatedly gone out against this animal: they could do him no harm, but were compelled to suffer his devastations: at last, a deputation from the Mysians came before Crœsus, and spoke thus: "Sire, a vast monster of a boar has appeared in our land, and devastates our cultivated fields: we have endeavoured to catch him, but cannot. We therefore now entreat you, send with us your son and some chosen youths, together with dogs, so that we may drive him out of the land." Such was their petition: to which Crœsus, remembering the warning of his dream, replied thus: "Make no more mention of my son. I shall not send him with you; for he is but just married, and for the present has to attend to that. However, I will send with you some chosen Lydians, together with my whole pack; and give those that go, my commands to assist you in extirpating the savage monster from your country." Such was his answer, with which the Mysians were content; when the son of Crœsus happened to come in: having heard what the Mysians petitioned for, and that Crœsus had refused to send his son with them, the youth thus addressed his father: "Father, formerly it was deemed most befitting and worthy of my blood to frequent the wars and the chace, there to gain renown: now you exclude me from both these exercises, without having observed any cowardice on my part, or any want of spirit. With what eyes must I now appear to you, stalking to and from the market? What idea shall I give of myself to my fellow-citizens? To what a man will my bride say she is united? Either, therefore, permit me to join this hunting-party, or convince me by some reason that you are justified in doing as you do." "I have not seen in you, my son," replied Crœsus, "either cowardice, or any thing to displease me; it is not on that account I act thus: a vision has appeared before me in a dream, when I was buried in sleep, and warned me that you will have but short time to live, for you will be destroyed by a point of iron. In consequence of this vision, I have hastened this marriage; and have refused to send you on the present enterprise, having care to preserve you, if by any means I can, during my life; for you are my only son: the other, afflicted in his hear-

ing, I reckon not as mine." The young man replied: "To have beheld such a vision, dear father, is indeed an excuse for keeping such a watch over me: but you misunderstand the dream; you do not see its real meaning: and it is right I should explain to you. You say that the dream boded I was to die by a point of iron; but where are the hands of a boar? where the point of iron that alarms you? Were I indeed to die by a tusk, or something of that kind, it would have been prudent in you to do as you do. Again, as to my dying by a spear; this is no battle with men; therefore do give me leave to go." "My son," replied the king, "it is true: you beat me here in the interpretation of my dream: you have conquered; I give up, and allow you to go."

As soon as Crœsus had done speaking, he sent for the Phrygian, Adrastus, whom he addressed thus: "At the time, Adrastus, that you were smitten with a dreadful calamity—not that I reproach you with that—I then expiated you, received you into my family, and ministered to all your wants. Now therefore—for it is your duty to make me a return for the service I have rendered you—I request you to be the guardian to my son, who is going to the chase, lest on the road some skulking thieves make their appearance to your detriment. It becomes you, moreover, to go where you may make yourself conspicuous by your deeds; for that you inherit from your fathers, to which you add bodily strength." "Sire," said Adrastus, "I would not have taken any part in this enterprise; for it is not meet that one visited with my misfortune should join with his more happy compeers, nor have I the wish; frequently even I have refrained myself; but now, as you yourself urge me, and it becomes me to oblige you—for I am bound in gratitude to make a return—I am ready to do as you desire. I pledge myself to bring back your son, whom you command me to watch over, safe and sound, as far as depends on his guardian."

After Adrastus had returned this answer to Crœsus, they departed, provided with chosen youths and dogs: arriving at Mount Olympus, they tracked the game, and found the boar; then standing round him, they hurled their spears; at that moment, this very man who had been purified of blood, he called Adrastus, levelled his spear at the boar, missed his mark,

and hit the son of Crœsus: the youth accordingly, wounded by the spear, fulfilled the warning of the dream. Some one ran off to announce the tidings to Crœsus, and, reaching Sardis, communicated an account of the hunt and the fate of his son. Crœsus, horror-stricken at the death of his son, was still more exasperated that the deed should have been done by the very hand that he had purified of blood: sorely deploring his calamity, he invoked Jove the Expiator, attesting what he had suffered at the hands of his guest: he called also on Jove as the god of Hearths and of Mutual Friendship;—as the god of Hearths, because, by admitting a stranger among his household, he had unwittingly harboured and fed the assassin of his son;—as the god of Mutual Friendship, because, having sent him as a guard, he had found him his most cruel enemy. Soon after appeared the Lydians, bearing the dead body: behind followed the homicide; he advanced in front of the corse, and, stretching forth his hands, gave himself up to Crœsus, bidding the king sacrifice him on the dead body: then he alluded to his first misfortune, owned that he after that misfortune had been the instrument of death to him that had purified him, and that he deserved no longer to live. Crœsus heard the words of Adrastus, although absorbed in domestic sorrow: he took pity on him, and spoke to him thus: "My friend, you have made full reparation to me, by thus devoting yourself to death: you are not the cause of this misfortune, saving so far as you were the unwilling instrument, but some god, who long since foreshowed me what was to come to pass." Crœsus therefore performed the funeral of his son with the beseeming honours. Adrastus, on the other hand, the slayer of his own brother, the slayer also of his expiator, convinced that he was the most calamitous of men, went to the sepulchre, when mankind had retired to rest, and slew himself on the tomb. Crœsus, during two years, sat down in deep mourning, bewailing his son.

[Crœsus, intending to make war on the Persians, by the advice of the oracle of Delphi, makes friends with Athens and Sparta, the most powerful Greek states. He then prepares for a campaign against Cappadocia, "expecting he should overthrow Cyrus, together with the Persian power."]

When he had provided every thing for war with the Persians, one of his Lydian subjects, previously noted for his wisdom, but who, in consequence of the advice he now gave, obtained a very great name among the Lydians, counselled the king in these words—the name of this person was Sandanes:—"Sire! you are about to engage in war with a people who wear nothing but hose and other garments of leather; who feed not on what they like, but on what they have; and they have a rugged soil: add to this, they use no wine, but drink water: they have no figs to eat, nor any thing that is good: should you, therefore, conquer them, what can you take from those that have nothing? But, on the other hand, if you should be conquered, know what blessings you throw away. As soon as they will have tasted of our good things, they will cleave to them; nor will they be easy to shake off. I give, therefore, thanks to the gods, that they have not inspired the Persians with the thought of bringing war upon the Lydians." Sandanes however failed to persuade Crœsus by this discourse.

[Crœsus assembles his army and crosses the Halys into Cappadocia, where he fights a drawn battle with Cyrus near Pteria. He then retreats to Sardis.]

Cyrus, however, immediately after the departure of Crœsus, subsequent to the engagement at Pteria, learnt that Crœsus had retreated, for the purpose of disbanding his troops: he considered the matter; and found that the best thing he could do, would be, to march as quickly as he could upon Sardis, and anticipate the levying a second time of the Lydian forces: no sooner thought than done; for he directly marched into Lydia, and came his own messenger to Crœsus. Crœsus, now thrown into great embarrassment, events turning out so contrary to his expectation, nevertheless led out the Lydians to battle; and in those days, there was no nation in all Asia more valiant and warlike than the Lydian: their mode of fighting was from the backs of horses: they carried long javelins, and were good riders. The two armies met in the plain that stretches before the citadel of Sardis, which is extensive, and not encumbered with trees—several rivers flowing through it, among which is the Hyllus, pour their waters into the largest stream, called the Hermus,

which rises in the sacred mountain of mother Ceres, and falls into the sea by the city of Phocæa—where Cyrus, who was alarmed at the sight of the Lydian horse drawn up in battle array, acted, after the suggestion of Harpagus, a Mede, in the following manner: He collected all the camels that followed in the train of the army, carrying provisions and munitions; he took off their burdens, and mounted upon them soldiers accoutred as cavalry: having made these preparations, he drew them up in the van of the whole army, opposite to Crœsus's cavalry, and commanded the infantry to follow on and support the camels: in the rear of the infantry he arrayed the whole of his own cavalry. Having thus formed all his forces in line, he recommended them not to spare any of the Lydians, but to cut down every man that stood up against them: not, however, to slay Crœsus, not even if, when overpowered, he should still resist. The reason that induced him to place the camels opposite to the enemy's horse, was, because the horse has a dread of the camel, and cannot bear to look at the figure or snuff the smell of that animal. For this purpose, therefore, Cyrus had recourse to the above expedient, that he might make Crœsus's cavalry of no use, by which the Lydian prince expected to perform many brilliant achievements. As soon as the armies joined battle, the horses, instantly smelling the camels, and seeing them before them, reared back, and the hopes of Crœsus were blasted. Nevertheless, the Lydians behaved not as cowards, but, as soon as they saw what had occurred, leaped off their horses, and engaged the Persians foot to foot. After some time, many having fallen on both sides, the Lydians were turned to the right-about, and, shut up within their walls, were blockaded by the Persians.

Siege was accordingly laid to the Lydians. But Crœsus, who thought that the blockade would last some time, sent, from within the ramparts, other messengers to the allies: as those formerly despatched had given them notice to assemble in the course of the fifth month, Crœsus sent the present persons to request assistance as speedily as possible, he himself being already besieged. He sent more particularly, of all his allies, to the Lacedæmonians; but just at that very time the Spartans themselves happened to be engaged in a quarrel with

the Argians, on the subject of a place called Thyrea, which, although a portion of the domain of Argos, the Lacedæmonians had appropriated. To the Argians also belonged the whole country westward down to Maleum, both on the land, and Cythera, together with the rest of the islands. The Argians proceeded to the defence of their own property, thus abstracted: then both parties met and came to an agreement, that three hundred men on each side should engage battle, and that the disputed ground should be that of which ever party survived: it was also settled, that the mass of the army on both sides should retire homeward, for this purpose, that neither army being present, they might not, seeing their own party give way, rush to their assistance. After they had agreed to these terms, they respectively withdrew: the chosen champions on both sides, left to themselves, joined battle: they fought with such equal valour, that, out of the six hundred, three alone remained; Alcenor and Chromius on the part of the Argians; Othryades on that of the Lacedæmonians: these were the combatants remaining, when night came: the two Argians accordingly, as having conquered, ran off to Argos; while Othryades the Lacedæmonian stripped the dead bodies of the Argians, and, having carried their arms to his camp, stood at his post. On the second day, both parties came to ascertain the result: for some time, accordingly, each party persisted that they had conquered: on one side, it was said that the greater number of their men had survived: the others contended, that the two that disappeared were runaways, and that their one survivor stripped the dead bodies of the others: at last, from words they came to blows: many fell on both sides: the Lacedæmonians gained the day. From that time, therefore, the Argians have shaved their heads, although previously obliged by necessity to wear long hair; and enacted a law accompanied with curses, on such as violate it, that no Argian man should let his hair grow, and that the women should wear no jewels of gold until such time as they should recover Thyrea. The Lacedæmonians, on the other hand, enacted a law quite the contrary: for though, until then, they had never worn long hair, from that time it was suffered to grow. As to Othryades, the one Spartan that remained out of the three hundred, he,

being ashamed to return to Sparta, all his fellow-champions having fallen, made away with himself at Thyrea. At the time affairs were in this confusion at Sparta, the Sardian herald arrived, and requested them to come to the assistance of the besieged Crœsus: the people nevertheless, when informed by the herald, prepared to start to his assistance; when, as they had all got ready, and their ships were equipped, another message came, that the Lydian citadel had been taken, and Crœsus made prisoner: consequently, sympathizing deeply with the Lydians, they ceased their exertions.

Sardis was taken in the following manner: on the fourteenth day that Crœsus had been besieged, Cyrus sent round some horsemen, to proclaim to the whole army, that he would give a reward to the first man that would scale the wall: in consequence, the whole army having made the attempt without success, all gave up, but a Mardian soldier, who determined to try if he could climb up: the man's name was Hyrœades: on that quarter of the citadel no guard was stationed, because there was no fear of the fort being ever carried in that place; for in this part the citadel was abruptly perpendicular, and inaccessible: this was the only part around which Meles, one of the former kings of Sardis, had not carried the lion which his concubine brought forth; the Telmessians having decided, that if this lion were conveyed around the fortifications, Sardis would be impregnable: and Meles, after carrying the lion about the rest of the wall, where it might be possible to storm the citadel, refrained from doing the same by this place, regarded as impregnable and precipitous: this quarter of the town lies towards Tmolus. This Hyrœades therefore, the Mardian, had the day before seen one of the Lydians descend by this way, pick up a helmet that had rolled down, and carry it up: he observed what was done, and turned it over in his mind: accordingly, he ascended then himself, and was followed by some other Persians: great numbers having gone up, Sardis was thus taken, and the whole town abandoned to pillage.

I will now relate what happened to Crœsus himself. He had a son, whom I have before mentioned, in other respects well endowed by nature, but dumb: in the foregone days of prosperity, Crœsus had done every thing for him possible: he

had recourse to many expedients; more particularly, he sent a deputation to Delphi, in order to consult the oracle: the answer returned by the Pythia was this:

> Thou Lydian-born, king of many, mighty simple man that thou art, Crœsus! long not to hear the much-besought voice of thy son, within thy halls: that were far better for thee indeed! for in a hapless day thou wilt first hear him.

The fortifications had been carried:—one of the Persians, not knowing Crœsus, was about to kill him: Crœsus saw the man rushing on: absorbed in his present calamity, it made no difference to him whether he died under the stroke; but his son, the dumb boy, saw the Persian rushing to the attack: pressed by terror and misery, he burst a passage to his voice: "Soldier, kill not Crœsus!" he exclaimed. This was, therefore, the first word he ever uttered; but from that time, ever after, throughout life, he had the use of his speech.

The Persians had possession of Sardis; and took Crœsus alive, having reigned fourteen years, and been besieged the same number of days: he had thus, according to the oracle, put an end to his own mighty empire.

The Persians, who had made him prisoner, carried him before Cyrus; who collected a huge pile, on which he placed Crœsus, bound in fetters, and, by his side, twice seven of the sons of Lydians: whether having it in contemplation accordingly to offer up these firstlings to one of the gods, or wishing to fulfil some vow; or perhaps, having heard that Crœsus was a devout worshipper of the divine powers, he placed him on the pile only to ascertain whether any of the divinities would rescue him from being burnt alive. They relate, that as Crœsus was standing on the pile, and, notwithstanding the deep misery he was in, recalled to his mind the saying of Solon, pronounced as it were by divine inspiration, that "No one, yet in life, is happy." When this occurred to him, he broke his deep silence: breathing from the bottom of his heart, and sighing, he called out three times, "Solon." Cyrus heard him, and commanded the interpreters to ask Crœsus whom he called thus: they approached, and put the question. Crœsus, however, although repeatedly asked, held for

some time his peace: at last, from compulsion, he said: "One, whom to see converse with all kings, I should prefer before great wealth."

As what Crœsus uttered was unintelligible to the interpreters, they again inquired what he said: as they persevered in urging him to speak, he said, 'That once upon a time, Solon, a native of Athens, came to his court, and, having seen all his blessings, despised them:'—he accordingly stated 'that Solon had told him every thing exactly as had occurred to him, and would say no more in respect of him than of the rest of mankind, and such especially as conceived themselves to be happy.'—Thus Crœsus spoke: the pile was already lighted, the flames caught the outside, and Cyrus heard from the interpreters what Crœsus had said: he now relented: and recollecting, that he, being himself a man, was giving up alive to the flames a man who had been not less fortunate than himself; dreading, moreover, retribution, and considering that nothing pertaining to man is stable, gave order that the burning fire should be quenched as speedily as possible, and that Crœsus, as well as those with him, should be lifted down from the pile. They endeavoured to obey the orders, but were yet unable to master the flames: then, it is related by the Lydians, that Crœsus, perceiving the change in Cyrus's resolution, and seeing all the people endeavour to quench the flames but not able to repress their violence, invoked aloud Apollo, if ever any grateful gift had been presented to the god by him, that he would come to his assistance, and rescue him from impending death. Weeping, it is said, he thus called on the god; instantly, from its being a clear and tranquil sky, clouds gathered, the storm burst, and rain poured down in torrents, to extinguish the fire. This was sufficient proof to Cyrus that Crœsus was a pious and good man: he caused him to be taken down from the pile: "Crœsus," said he to the king, "who in the world ever induced you to invade a country that belongs to me, and to be my foe, instead of being my friend." "Sire," he replied, "what I have done is to your good fortune, to my misfortune: the promoter of these things was the god of the Hellenes: he it was that spurred me to war:—for no man is so reft of common sense, as to prefer war before peace; since in peace sons bury fathers, while in war fathers have to

bury sons. But it pleased the gods that things should thus come to pass."

When he had thus spoken, Cyrus took off his fetters, and seated him near himself, and behaved to him with great respect: he, as well as his attendants, were astonished at the sight of the Lydian monarch: Crœsus himself, absorbed in thought, stood silent, after a time, he turned round and saw the Persians sacking the Lydian capital. "Sire," said he to Cyrus, "am I allowed to communicate any thoughts to you, or must I be silent now in my present state?" Cyrus bade him be of good cheer, and say what he chose. "Tell me then," said Crœsus, "what is all this crowd occupied at so earnestly?" He was answered: "They are sacking your city, and plundering your riches." "Not my city," retorted Crœsus, "not my riches, are they sacking: none of these things belong to me any longer; it is your property they plunder and bear away." Crœsus's words had a striking effect on Cyrus: he dismissed all his attendants, and then asked Crœsus what he thought should be done in the present conjuncture. "Since the gods have given me a slave to you," said Crœsus, "it becomes my duty, when I observe any thing that escapes you, to point it out. The Persians, by nature presumptuous, are poor: if, therefore, you permit them to plunder and retain this great wealth, you may expect the issue to be this: he who gets the greatest booty, be assured, will revolt. Now therefore, if my proposal be agreeable to you, adopt this plan: place at each gate some of your body-guards as sentinels; let them stop those that are carrying off the valuable booty, and say to them, that they must absolutely pay the tithe to Jupiter: thus you will not incur the hatred of taking away the property; and the soldiers, confessing the equity of your proceedings, will willingly accede." Cyrus was exceedingly gratified to hear these words: he thought the suggestion very expedient, praised it highly, and gave orders to his guards to do what Crœsus intimated.

Lydia does not present many wonders for description, like some other countries, if we expect the gold-dust brought down from the Tmolus. This country, however, exhibits an immense work, ranking next to those of the Egyptians and Babylonians:

you see there a monument to Alyattes, father of Crœsus, the basis of which consists of large stones, the rest is made of accumulated earth: this mound was wrought by the tradesmen, the mechanics, and the prostitutes; five bourns, still remaining in my time, are placed on the top of this monument; on which inscriptions are carved, stating how much of the work was done by each of the above classes: from the measures, it is evident that the largest portion was the work of the prostitutes: for the daughters of the Lydian lower orders all make a traffic of their persons; and thus collect money for their portions, until, by so doing, they have got enough to marry: these girls have the right of choosing their own husbands. The monument is six stades and two plethra in circumference;[1] the breadth across is thirteen plethra. Adjoining this monument is a wide lake, which the Lydians represent as always full: it is called the Gygæan lake.

The people of Lydia have pretty nearly the same customs as the Hellenes; excepting, of course, that the latter do not prostitute their females. They are the first nation, we know of, that introduced and circulated gold and silver coin; and were the first venders by retail. According to the statement of the Lydians themselves, all the games likewise, now in vogue among themselves and the Hellenes, were inventions of their own: the epoch of this discovery is said to have been coincident with that of their colonization of Tyrrhenia: they give the following account of these matters: Under the reign of Atys son of Manes, a great famine pervaded the whole of Lydia: for a long time the Lydians bore patiently with this scourge; but no cessation taking place, they sought for remedies to the evil. Various persons devised various expedients: at that time, accordingly, the different kinds of games were discovered; dice, round-bones, ball, and all except drafts, the invention of which the Lydians do not claim to themselves. The following was also invented as an expedient against the dearth—to play the whole of one day in order not to feel the hankering after food; on the next, to eat, and refrain from play. In this manner they passed eighteen years; at the end of

[1] About a mile.

which, the evil, far from relaxing, had acquired greater virulence: accordingly, their king divided the whole Lydian nation into two portions, and then drew lots which should remain, and which forsake their country: on the party allotted to remain, he appointed himself king: at the head of the emigrants he put his own son, whose name was Tyrrhenus: those, whom fortune had doomed to abandon their country, went down to Smyrna, built ships, and, stowing on board all their useful articles of furniture, sailed away in search of land and food: at last, after coasting many states, they reached the Ombrici, where they erected for themselves towns, and dwell to this day. They have, however, altered their name from Lydians, to that of the king's son who headed the expedition; according to which they have given themselves the name of Tyrrhenians.—Thus the Lydians were enthralled by the Persians.

Our history from this place proceeds, accordingly, to inquire who the Cyrus was that overthrew the power of Crœsus; and in what manner the Persians obtained the supremacy of Asia. This I shall describe, therefore, on the authority of some Persian writers; who shew an anxiety, not so much to embellish the adventures of Cyrus, as to speak the truth. I am acquainted, nevertheless, with three other different ways of presenting the life of Cyrus.—The Assyrians had been lords over Upper Asia during five hundred and twenty years, when the Medes first seceded from their allegiance: in the struggle with the Assyrians for freedom, they became, it appears, a valiant and warlike race, and, shaking off the yoke of servitude, recovered their liberty: subsequently, the other dependent nations followed the example of the Medes. All the nations of the continent were then their own masters; but they again fell under usurped dominion: in what manner this came to pass, I shall now describe.

Among the Medes was an intelligent man, whose name was Deïoces, son of Phraortes; this individual, enamoured of royalty, endeavoured to attain his object, by the following means. The Medes were scattered about in villages: in his own, Deïoces had already made himself conspicuous, by his earnest application to the distribution of justice; he

acted thus, principally, on account of the general lawlessness that pervaded Media, and from the conviction, that, by all honest people, the violators of justice are regarded as enemies: the Medes of that village observed the disposition of Deïoces, and elected him their judge. He, still bearing in view the sovereign power, conducted himself uprightly and honestly, by which means he obtained no slight praise at the hands of his fellow-citizens: in consequence of this, the inhabitants of the other villages, having ascertained that Deïoces was the only man that pronounced fair decisions and sentences, having themselves before met with unjust judgments, hastened joyfully, when they heard this, to submite their disputes to Deïoces' adjudication: at last, no litigant would apply to any other judge.

The crowd of applicants constantly increasing, as people became aware that justice was distributed according to truth, Deïoces, who knew that every thing depended upon himself, would no longer occupy the seat from which he had heretofore pronounced judgment: he refused to fill any longer the office of judge, as it did not suit his interest to neglect his own affairs, and attend the whole day to the adjudication of those of others: in consequence, rapine and wickedness pervaded the villages still more even than before: the Medes therefore assembled, and debated on their present circumstances. The friends of Deïoces spoke, I presume, in some such language as this: "As it is wholly impossible for us to live in this country, if we are treated in this manner, let us, without delay, establish a king over us: by such means the country will be well managed and governed, and we ourselves shall be able to attend to our business, without being disturbed by the violation of the laws." By such discourses, they persuaded the assembly to adopt a kingly government.

Immediately after that decision, the subject for debate proposed was, whom should they appoint king: Deïoces was by every one present greatly preferred and extolled; so that, at last, all approved his appointment as king. Deïoces insisted, they should build for him a palace worthy of the royal power, and insure his safety by appointing a body-guard

for him. This the Medes acceded to, and built him an extensive and strong palace in that part of the country that he himself pointed out: they also deferred to him the privilege of choosing his body-guards from among the whole Medic population.

Now therefore, being in possession of the power, he compelled the Medes to build one single city, attend to the fortifications and embellishment of that, and take less account of the others. The Medes again obeyed: they built vast and substantial walls at the place now called Ecbatana, rising up one circle within another. This fortification was so contrived, that each circle was higher than the preceding by the battlements only; to which the hilly situation contributed in some degree, although its effect was mainly due to art. The circles are seven in number: within the last and highest is the royal palace and treasuries. The most extensive of these walls is very nearly equal to the circumference of Athens in length. The battlements of the first circle is white; of the second, black; of the third, purple; of the fourth, blue; of the fifth, scarlet: these battlements are all painted of those colours: the two last are coated respectively with silver and gold.

Such, therefore, were the fortifications, that Deïoces erected around himself and his palace: to the rest of the people he assigned the space about the walls for their residence: when all these buildings were completed, he established, for the first time, the following state etiquette—that nobody should dare to come into the immediate presence, but that all business shoudl be transacted through messengers: in addition to this, that it should be held at least disgraceful, in all persons whatever, to laugh or spit in his presence. He cast about himself this mantle of veneration, for the purpose that his compeers, who had been brought up with him, and were not of baser blood than himself, or behind him in valour, should not, from seeing him frequently, envy his elevation, and conspire against him; but that, unseen, he should seem to them a being of another nature. After he had established all these forms and ceremonies, and seated himself firmly in the throne, he continued to keep a vigilant watch on the distribution of justice: the complainants wrote down their dep-

ositions, and sent them in to the king, who, after deliberating on the contents, and coming to a judgment, sent them back; such was his arrangement in respect of justice: all the other details of government were settled by himself: if he ascertained that any of his subjects had presumed to contravene the law, he sent for him, and awarded the proper sentence for every offence: for this purpose, he kept spies and eavesdroppers, in every part of his dominions.

Deïoces therefore contented himself with collecting together the Medes only; and over them he ruled. The following are the Medic tribes: the Busæ, Paretaceni, Struchates, Arizanti, Budii, Magi.—Deïoces had one son, Phraortes, who at the decease of his father, after a reign of fifty years, inherited the throne. Invested with royal power, this prince was not content to rule over the Medes only; but attacked the Persians, and, reducing them, gave the first subjects to the Medes. After this achievement, being master of those two nations, both of them very powerful, he subdued Asia, passing from one nation to the other; until, having made an attack on the Assyrians, that is to say, the Assyrians that occupied Nineveh, and had previously been supreme over all, but were now reft of their allies, who had abandoned them, and, although standing by themselves, were even now a flourishing nation—Phraortes, I say, having marched against this people, there perished, after two and twenty years' reign, together with the greater part of his army.

At the death of Phraortes, Cyaxares, the son of Deïoces, succeeded: this prince is represented as having been far more valiant than his progenitors; and the first that divided the Asiatics into military departments, and first separated the javelin-men, bowmen, and horsemen, who in former days were all, without distinction, confused and mixed together.

This was the same king that was fighting with the Lydians at the time day was converted into night over the combatants, and that subjected the whole of Asia above the Halys river. He collected forces from all parts of his dominions; and invaded Nineveh, with the intention not only to avenge his father, but also to get possession of that city: he had defeated the Assyrians in an open engagement; and was encamped

before Nineveh, when a large army of Scythians, headed by their king Madyes, the son of Protothyes, passed over into Asia, having driven the Cimmerians out of Europe: in their pursuit of the fugitives, they came into Media. There is indeed a road of thirty days, for an expeditious walker, from the Palus Mæotis to the Phasis river and Colchis; from Colchis to Media is no great distance; only one nation, that of the Saspires, intervening; passing through which, you find yourself in Media. But the Scythians did not make their entrance by this route: they turned, far northward, into a much longer road, keeping the Caucasian mountains to their right: there the Medes engaged with the Scythians: they were defeated in the battle, and reft of the empire, while the Scythians ruled over all Asia.

From Media they proceeded on to Egypt; and when they had reached Palestine in Syria, Psammitichus, king of Egypt, met them with gifts and prayers, and diverted them from advancing any farther: in their march back, they passed through Ascalon of Syria: most of the Scythians proceeded on their way, without stopping to pillage: some few however lagged behind, and stripped the holy precinct of Celestial Venus. This holy precinct, I find, by inquiry, is the most ancient of all palaces consecrated to this goddess; for that in Cyprus was a branch from this, as the Cyprians themselves confess; and that in Cythera was built by Phœnicians, who came from this same Syria. The goddess, however, smote with a female disease those Scythians and their posterity who had rifled her temple at Ascalon: the Scythians assert, that for the same reason they are still afflicted, and travellers visiting their country may witness how these people are afflicted: the Scythians call them Enarees.

For eight and twenty years, therefore, did the Sythians hold the sway, and every thing was turned upside down by their presumptuous and haughty conduct; for not only did they extort from every body what tribute they chose to impose, but, independent of all that, they galloped about, ransacking whatever the people might have. Accordingly, Cyaxares and the Medes invited most of them to a banquet, where, after overpowering them with wine, they

massacred them all: in that manner, then, the Medes recovered the power, and, as before, extended their dominion over the rest of Asia; they took also Nineveh—the siege of which I shall describe in a different history; and enthralled all the Assyrians, with the exception of the Babylonian territory. After these exploits, Cyaxares, who, including the time that the Scythians predominated, had reigned forty years, departed life.

Astyages the son of Cyaxares succeeded to the throne: he had a daughter called Mandane, who, he dreamed, discharged such a quantity of urine, that it not only filled his capital, but even inundated the whole of Asia. He communicated his dream to the magians, that profess to interpret such visions: he was greatly alarmed, when informed by them of every particular. Some time after, dreading the accomplishment of the dream, he avoided giving this daughter, then already marriageable, to any of his Medic grandees; but united her to a Persian, whose name was Cambyses, and whom he knew to be of a respectable family and a quiet disposition: he considered such a man as vastly inferior to a Mede, even of the middle order.

In the first year of Mandane's union with Cambyses, Astyages had another vision: it seemed to him as if a vine grew up from his daughter's womb, and spread all over Asia. Having beheld this vision, and communicated with the interpreters of dreams, he sent for his daughter, who was pregnant and near her time, out of Persia: from the time of her arrival, he kept a watch on her, being determined to destroy her offspring; for the magian interpreters had pointed out to him, from his dream, that the progeny of his daughter would reign in his stead. Astyages, therefore, watched in this manner, until Cyrus came into the world: he then called Harpagus, one of his relations, the most loyal of the Medes, and the confidant of all his affairs. "Harpagus," said he to him, "by no means neglect the business that I am about to charge you with. Let me be exposed to no danger, by any deception: consult not the interest of others, lest you work your own destruction hereafter. Take the son that Mandane has just brought forth; carry him to your house, and put him to death; and then bury him, in what manner you

yourself may think proper." Harpagus made the following answer: "Sire, hitherto, never have you witnessed in the man that stands before you any ingratitude: be assured, that, for the time to come, I shall still have a care not to offend you. If, therefore, it is your pleasure that it should be done, as far, at all events, as I am concerned, it is my bounden duty to perform diligently what you command."

Harpagus having given the above answer, the babe was delivered over to him, sumptuously clad in its shrowd, for death. He proceeded home, weeping: at his entrance, he related to his wife all the conversation he had had with Astyages. "And what, then, do you now intend to do?" said the lady. "Not indeed, what Astyages prescribes," answered he, "not even were he more raving and distraught than he now is, would I, at all events, accede to his desire, or lend myself to such a murder. I have many reasons not to be his butcher: not only is the child my own relation, but Astyages himself is now an old man, and has no male issue; at his decease, should the crown descend to this daughter, whose son he wishes to massacre by my hand, what then can I expect, but the most dreadful danger? Yet my own safety requires that the child shall die: let, then, one of Astyages' own people be the assassin; none of mine."

So he spoke; and forthwith despatched a courier to one of Astyages' herdsmen, who he knew grazed his cattle on pastures exceedingly well adapted for his purpose, being in mountains greatly infested with wild beasts: the man's name was Mitradates: he was married to a fellow-servant: the name of the woman who was his partner was Cyno, in Hellenic; or Spaco, in Medic, for the Medes use the word *spaca* for 'dog.' The mountains, at the foot of which this herdsman accordingly grazed his cattle, lay northward of Ecbatana, facing the Euxine sea: that quarter of Media, on the confines of the Saspireo, is very mountainous, lofty, and covered with forests: the rest of Media, however, is all level ground. On the arrival, accordingly, with all speed, of the herdsman; as soon as he was summoned, Harpagus addressed him in these words: "Astyages commands you to take this new-born child, and expose him on the bleakest part of your mountains, so that he may

quickly perish. He has likewise given his commands, that you should be informed, that if you do not procure the immediate death of this infant, but in any manner contribute to his preservation, you shall be visited with the most horrid of deaths. I myself have it in command to see the body exposed."

The grazier heard these orders: he took the new-born child, returned by the same way he had come, and arrived at his farm; where his own wife, who was expecting every day to go to bed, had happened just then to be delivered, while he himself was gone to town. Both man and wife had been uneasy on each other's account: he was alarmed about her approaching delivery: the woman, on the other hand, was not less alarmed for her husband, as it had never been the custom with Harpagus to send for him. At his return, the woman, seeing him thus unexpectedly, first inquired what Harpagus had sent to him for in such haste. "O wife!" said the man; "when I got to the town, I there beheld and heard what I fain never would have wished to see, nor to have befallen our masters: the whole house of Harpagus was filled with mourning: terrified that I was, I entered: no sooner had I stepped in, than I behold a new-born babe lying on the ground, palpitating and crying, clad in cloth of gold. Immediately that Harpagus saw me, he ordered me to take directly the babe, carry him away with me, and expose him on the mountain that abounds the most in wild animals: he observed, at the same time, that Astyages was the person that charged me with this commission, and threatened me with dreadful punishment if I failed to execute it. I then took away the infant; and was bringing him here, supposing that it was the child of one of the servants of the house; for I could not guess whence he came: yet I was surprised to see him clad in cloth-of-gold garments, and still more at the mourning evident through the house of Harpagus. Soon after, however, on my road home, I was informed of the whole business, by the servant who was to escort me out of the town, and give the child into my hands—that he was the son of Astyages' daughter, by Cambyses the son of Cyrus; and that Astyages commanded he should be destroyed:—and now, here he is."

So saying, the herdsman uncovered the child, and showed

him to his wife: she, seeing the infant of good size and handsome features, shed tears; and embracing the knees of her husband, she besought him, by all means, not to expose the infant: but he denied the possibility of doing otherwise; for inspectors were to come, on the part of Harpagus, who would destroy him by the most cruel of deaths, if he did not obey his orders. Not succeeding in persuading her husband, the wife once more addressed him thus: "Since I cannot then obtain from you not to expose this infant, I beseech you to act as follows: if it is absolutely necessary a child should be seen stretched on the mountain, I also have been delivered and have brought forth a still-born infant. Carry the dead body out, and expose that; and let us bring up the son of Astyages' daughter as though he were one of our own: in that manner you cannot be convicted of disobedience to your masters, and we shall take no bad counsel to ourselves; for the lifeless child will receive a kingly funeral, and the surviving babe will not be reft of life."

The herdsman thought his wife spoke quite to the purpose, and instantly proceeded to do as she said: the child that he had brought, for the purpose of putting it to death, he consigned to his wife: his own lifeless child he deposited in the cradle that he brought the other in, and, adorning it with all the finery of the living child, carried it to the bleakest mountain, and there exposed it. On the third day of the body lying there, the herdsman set off for the city, leaving one of his hinds on the watch. He arrived at Harpagus's residence, and declared that he was ready to exhibit the dead body of the infant: Harpagus, accordingly, sent some of the most faithful of his guards, through them saw the infant, and interred the herdsman's son. Thus the still-born child was buried; and the grazier's wife took the boy subsequently called Cyrus and suckled him, giving him some other name, different from Cyrus.

When, accordingly, the boy had reached his tenth year, the following accident disclosed his birth to the world: he was playing in the same village where the cattle-stalls were, along with the boys of his own age, in the road: his comrades, accordingly, in sport, elected for their king this herdsman's son,

as he was called. He appointed some of his playmates to be superintendants of the buildings; others, to be his body-guards; one of them, to be the king's eye; to another he assigned the office of bringing in all messages; determining according to his own judgment the duties of each respectively. One of these boys, therefore, who was joining in the game—he was the son of Artembares, a Medic nobleman—refusing to obey the orders of Cyrus, the mock-king gave his orders that the boy should be taken into custody by the others: he was obeyed, and Cyrus handled the youth pretty sharply with the whip.

The boy, immediately he was released, being highly affronted to have undergone such unworthy treatment, hastened to the city, and complained bitterly to his father of the treatment he had received from Cyrus—not that he made use of that name, for he was not known by it then—but, from the hands of the son of Astyages' herdsman. Artembares, in anger, went, on the spot, to Astyages, taking his son with him, and complained of the intolerable treatment he had met with: then shewing the boy's shoulders, he said: "Thus, my king, are we presumptuously insulted by your slave, the son of a herdsman."

When Astyages had seen and heard the case, wishing to have some reparation made to the honour of Artembares, he sent for the herdsman and the boy. When they were both come into his presence, Astyages fixed his eyes on Cyrus: "How, then, have you the audacity," said he, "you, the son of so humble a man as this, to treat with such indignity the son of that gentleman, the first nobleman in my court?" "My lord," replied the boy, "what I did was in justice: for the other lads in the village, to which I belong, had elected me as king, in play, over them; as I appeared to be the best adapted for that office. The rest of the boys obeyed my orders; but this youth, without assigning any reason, refused to obey, and consequently was punished: if, on that account, I am deserving of blame, here I stand before you."

As the boy spoke these words, a thought struck Astyages that he recognized him: he fancied to himself that his countenance was something similar to his own: the time of the ex-

posing seemed also to agree with the lad's age. Startled at these thoughts, he stood some time silent: at length, when he recovered, he said, with a desire of getting rid of Artembares, and in order to be able to examine the herdsman all alone: "Artembares, I will take care to arrange matters, so that neither you nor your son shall have to complain."

Thus he dismissed Artembares: at the order also of Astyages, Cyrus was taken, by some attendants, into the inner part of the palace. Then the herdsman alone remained; and Astyages questioned him, unaccompanied by witnesses, from whence he got the boy, and who had given him to him? The man affirmed that the lad was his own begotten son, and the mother that had borne him was still living with him. Astyages observed to him, that he had not taken prudent counsel, and wished to bring himself into great trouble; as he pronounced these words, he beckoned to his guards to lay hold on him: when brought to the rack, the man discovered the truth; and beginning from the beginning, went through all the true particulars; and concluded by prayer, beseeching the king to shew mercy to him. Astyages, however, now that the herdsman had discovered the truth, was indifferent as to what became of the man: but attaching great blame to Harpagus, he ordered the guards to summon him.

As soon as Harpagus made his appearance, Astyages put this question to him: "Harpagus, to what kind of death did you put the son born of my daughter, whom I delivered into your hands?" Harpagus, who caught sight of the herdsman in the inner part of the palace, would not recur to falsehood, lest he should be detected and convicted; but explained as follows: "Sire, when I had received the new-born child, I revolved in my mind how I might act according to your pleasure, and yet remain blameless in your eyes as well as in your daughter's, without dipping my own hand into his blood for you: I then did as I will now tell you: I sent for this herdsman, to whom I delivered the new-born infant, telling him that, by your command, it was to be put to death: in so saying, at all events, I told no falsehood, for such were your injunctions: I then

delivered the child to him, with orders to place him on some bleak mountain, and remain by him, on the watch, until he died. I threatened the man with all sorts of torture, if he did not do this effectually. When he had properly executed these orders, and the infant was dead, I sent the most faithful of my eunuchs, and, through them, saw, and buried the corse. Thus, sire, things passed in this business, and such was the fate of the child."

Harpagus, therefore, told the honest truth: but Astyages, smothering the anger that possessed him at what had been done, repeated to Harpagus the account as he had heard it from the herdsman; and, when he had finished the rehearsal, concluded by saying: "The lad is still living, and the result is as it ought to be: for," continued he, "I suffered greatly on the boy's account, and I took much to heart the reproaches of my daughter: however, as things have turned out so lucky, you must send us your own son, to keep company with the young stranger: besides, as I intend to offer sacrifice, as a thanksgiving for the preservation of the boy to the gods to whom that honour belongs, you will attend yourself at my table."

Harpagus, on hearing this invitation, prostrated himself, and kissed the ground: congratulating himself that his disobedience was followed by such a favorable result, and that he was invited to the royal board under such auspicious circumstances, he went home: as soon as he entered—(he had an only son, at most thirteen years of age)—he sent him out, bidding him go to Astyages, and do what he should tell him; and then, full of gladness, went and told his consort all that had happened. But, at the arrival of Harpagus's son, Astyages slaughtered the youth, cut him up into joints and roasted some of the flesh, the rest he boiled: having properly cooked the whole, he held it in readiness: at the dinner-hour together with the other guests, came Harpagus also: before Astyages and the rest, tables were placed replete with mutton; but they served up to Harpagus all the parts of his own son, with the exception of the head and extremities, that is, the feet and hands; these were deposited apart, in a basket, carefully covered up.

When Harpagus seemed to have eaten a sufficiency of the meat, Astyages asked him if he had enjoyed his feast. Harpagus, having returned for answer that he had greatly enjoyed it, some persons, appointed for the purpose, brought him the head of his son, together with the hands and feet, and, standing before Harpagus, bade him lift up the covering, and take what he chose. Harpagus assented: he lifted up the cover, and beheld the remnants of his son. Not at all shaken off his guard, he kept his presence of mind. Astyages asked him if he knew of what game he had eaten: he replied, that he was perfectly aware; and whatever a king may do, it is always pleasing. Having made this answer, he picked up the remaining bits of flesh, and went home; intending, I suppose, to collect and bury all he could.

Such was the punishment Astyages inflicted on Harpagus. Then, taking into his consideration what should be done with Cyrus, he convened the same magians who had interpreted his dream in the manner I have already described. When they were come, Astyages asked them what was the interpretation they had put upon his dream: they answered, saying, That the child would reign, if he survived, and had not previously died. "The child is, and still survives," said Astyages to the magians: "he has been brought up in the country, where the lads of the village have made him king. He has performed all things exactly as kings in reality do: for he has appointed guards, ushers, and messengers, and made all the other arrangements. Tell me, what you think these things tend to?"

The answer on the part of the magians was: "If the child does survive, and has in fact reigned, without any premeditated object, you may cease to feel alarm on his account: resume a stout heart, for he will not rule a second time: indeed, many of our declarations have ended in insignificant results. At all events, dreams, and the like, frequently bring, in conclusion, very simple accomplishments." To this Astyages made reply: "I also, magians, am chiefly of the same opinion, that the child having been nominated king, the dream is fulfilled, and he may no longer be an object of terror to me. Nevertheless, it is my wish, that you should carefully

weigh the matter, and advise me what will be the safest way of proceeding, for the advantage of my family and yourselves."

To which the magians spoke as follows: "Sire, it is of high important to ourselves, to support your throne: for if the empire be thus alienated, passing over to this child, a Persian, even we Medes shall be enthralled, and held in no account by Persians, as being foreigners. But so long as you are king, you our fellow-citizen, even we ourselves participate in some measure of your government, and we receive great honours at your hands: thus, therefore, the welfare of yourself, and the security of your throne, must be the constant objects of our vigilance: and did we see at present aught to fear, be assured we would not fail to inform you. Now the dream has been thus innocently accomplished, we ourselves take heart, and exhort you to do as much. We advise you, sire, to send this child away, from before your eyes, to his father and mother, in Persia."

Astyages listened to this answer, which gave him much pleasure. He called Cyrus into his presence: "My son," said he to him, "I confess that I have done unjustly by you, in consequence of a vain dream; you have escaped the lot that was intended for you: now, therefore, go into Persia: I will send an escort with you. When you get there, you will find your father and mother, who are nothing like Mitradates and his wife."

Astyages having thus spoken, sent Cyrus away. On his arrival at the house of Cambyses, he was received by his parents, who embraced him with transports of joy when informed who he was, having been hitherto convinced that he had died immediately at his birth. They inquired in what manner he had been saved: he related to them, saying that he knew nothing before, but had been under a great mistake: on the road, however, he had been informed of all his adventures; for, previous to that time, he thought he was the son of Astyages' herdsman: on the road from Media, he had been made acquainted with the whole history, by his escorters. He described how he had been brought up by the herdsman's wife; and praised her, in preference of all; Cyno was every thing to him in his discourse: in consequence, his parents, availing them-

selves of that name, and in order that the preservation of the child might appear to the Persians more clearly the work of the gods, put about the report that Cyrus, when exposed, was suckled by a bitch: from thence the tale had its origin.

When Cyrus approached to manhood, and became the most gallant and beloved of the young men of his day, Harpagus sent him gifts, and courted him to take revenge on Astyages; for he himself, being but a subject, saw no prospect of ever obtaining reparation by his own influence: regarding, therefore, Cyrus as one grown up and educated to be his avenger, he sought to make him his confederate, comparing the sufferings of Cyrus with his own; but previously he made the following preparations. The behaviour of Astyages to the Medes being generally very harsh, Harpagus had communication with the various chief noblemen among the Medes, and persuaded them to stand up for Cyrus, and put an end to the rule of Astyages.

Having effected this object, and being now ready, he was accordingly desirous to make known his ideas to Cyrus, who was then resident in Persia: but, as the roads were watched, and he had no other mode of so doing, he devised the following artifice: he took a hare, and ripping up its belly, without discomposing any thing or tearing any of the hair, slipped in a letter, containing what he had to say: then, sewing up again the hare, he gave it, together with some nets, to the most faithful of his servants, dressed as a sportsman; whom he sent over into Persia, prescribing to him *vivâ voce,* to tell Cyrus, in delivering the hare, to paunch it himself, and let nobody be present when he did so. This was therefore done: Cyrus took the hare, and ripped up the skin: he found the letter there deposited: he took it and read it: the letter ran thus: "Son of Cambyses—as the gods watch over you: for otherwise you might never have attained such good-fortune—I beseech you now to wreak vengeance on Astyages, your murderer: according to his intentions, you would have long since died: aided by the gods, and me, you survive. You have erewhile, methinks, been informed how he behaved towards you, what sufferings I underwent myself at the hands of Astyages, because I did not slaughter you myself, but gave you to the herdsman. Now, then, if you will hearken to me, you shall

rule over the same empire that Astyages now reigns over. Do you, therefore, persuade the Persians to stand; march them upon the Medes. And whether I myself, or any other noble Mede, be appointed commander against you, be assured every thing will be as you wish; for all these will be the first to stand up against him and for you, and to depose Astyages: as all is here, at least, prepared, do as I say, and do quickly."

Cyrus, having received this information, considered what would be the most prudent manner to persuade the Persians to rebel: after turning the matter over, he found that the most expedient mode would be to act thus: he wrote a letter, comprising what he thought proper to indite, and then mustered the Persians: in the presence of the assembly, he unrolled the letter, and, reading it out, said that Astyages appointed him leader of the Persians. "Now," continued he, "Persians, I command you to assemble, each bringing with him a sickle." This was Cyrus's proclamation.

The Persian tribes are numerous; some of which Cyrus collected together, and persuaded to secede from the Medes: they are those from whom all the rest of the Persians take their origin; Pasargadæ, Maraphians, Maspians: of these the Pasargadæ are the most noble: among them is the branch from which the Persic kings spring, called the Achæmenidæ. The rest of the Persian tribes are as follows: Panthialæans, Derusiæans, Germanians, all of whom are husbandmen: the remainder are nomades: Daians, Mardans, Dropicans, Sagartians.

When they were all assembled, provided with the prescribed instruments, Cyrus proposed to them to clear that day a certain tract of land situate in Persia, and overrun with bushes, the extent of which, every way, was about eighteen or twenty stades: as soon as the Persians had completed the prescribed task, he ordered them to muster again on the following day, and previously wash themselves. In the interval, Cyrus collected together the flocks and herds of his father, slaughtered and cooked them, for the purpose of regaling the Persian body. In addition to this, the proper rations of wine and bread were prepared.

At the arrival of the Persians on the next day, Cyrus bade

them stretch themselves on the turf, and feasted them. After the repast was at an end, he asked them which of the two was preferable, in their opinion; whether the treatment of the preceding day, or the present: the men replied, that there was a vast difference between the two; the day before, they had experienced nothing but hardships of all kinds; on the present day, they had tasted nothing but sweets.

Cyrus thereupon took advantage of the expression, and laid before the assembly the whole naked plan: "Men of Persia," said he, "thus matters stand with you: if you will hearken to me, these and ten thousand other sweets are yours, and you have no slavish toil: if you hesitate to hearken to me, toils beyond number, like those of yesterday, await you. Now, therefore, follow my orders, and be free. I myself, methinks, am born, by divine blessing, to place this boon within your hands: you, I hold not behind the Medes in valour, either in war or other things. Since such is the case, rise up directly against Astyages."

The Persians, thus provided with a leader, although they had long since abhorred the Medic rule, now longed for liberty. Astyages, acquainted with the projects of Cyrus, sent a messenger, to summon him to his presence: Cyrus ordered the messenger to report, that he would come, and meet him, sooner than Astyages himself could wish. At this intelligence, Astyages armed all his Medes; and, as if driven astray by the divine power, placed Harpagus at their head, unmindful how he had exasperated the feelings of that person. Accordingly, the Medes engaged with the Persians: some of them, not implicated in the plot, fought; the rest either passed over, of their own accord, to the Persians, or, acting as willing cowards, fled in great numbers. As soon as Astyages heard of this disgraceful rout of the Medic army, he exclaimed, threatening Cyrus: "No, Cyrus, you shall not, at all events, rejoice at so cheap a rate." Having so said, the first thing he did was to impale the magian interpreters of dreams, who had induced him to send away Cyrus: next, he armed the Medes that had been left behind in the capital, young and old: these he led out, engaged the Persians, and was defeated. Astyages

himself was taken prisoner, and lost all the Medes under his command.

Before Astyages, thus a prisoner, Harpagus now presented himself: he insulted with cutting gibes, and triumphed over his fallen enemy; saying to him, many heartrending things, and, among others, questioned him, in reference to the repast at which he had feasted him with the flesh of his own son, "How he relished his present thraldom, instead of his former sway." But the prisoner looked up, and asked, in return, whether he attributed to himself the achievement of Cyrus: and Harpagus observing, that, as he himself had written, the credit of the thing was his due; Astyages proved to him, beyond doubt, that "he was both the most foolish and the most iniquitous of men: certainly, if when the opportunity offered him to be himself king, and if, as he pretended, he was the agent in the present conjecture, he must have been most foolish to have given the power to another; and most iniquitous, to have, for the sake of that repast, enslaved all the Medes: for granting it was absolutely necessary that the royal power should be transferred to other hands, and he himself could not hold it, it would have been more fair and equitable to have given that boon to some native Mede, and not to a Persian: but now, the Medes, wholly guiltless of what he complained of, were, from masters, to become servants; while the Persians, from being formerly servants to the Medes, were now to be exalted into masters."

Astyages was accordingly, after a reign of five-and-thirty years, thus deposed: the Medes, who had ruled over Asia above the Halys during one hundred and thirty years, all but two, excepting the time that the Scythians held the power, bowed to the Persians, in consequence of the harsh rule of Astyages. In later days, however, they repented them to have so done, and rose up against Darius; but, conquered in battle, they were a second time subjugated: at this period, however, the Persians, headed by Cyrus, rose up against the Medes under Astyages, and from that day have been the rulers of Upper Asia. Cyrus kept Astyages by him until his decease, without doing him any further injury. Therefore Cyrus, thus born and educated, came to the throne; and subsequently

to these events, as I have already described, subdued Crœsus, the author of the first provocation: after deposing the Lydian prince, he obtained the sovereignty of all Asia.

The following observations on the manners and customs of the Persians I know to be correct. It is not the custom with them to erect statues or temples or altars; they reproach with folly such as do so. Their reason for this appears to be, that they do not, after the example of the Hellenes, regard the gods as participating in the nature of man. They are in the practice of ascending the loftiest of their mountains, there to make sacrifice to Jove, calling by that name the whole ambient sky. They offer up sacrifice to the sun and moon, to the earth, water, fire, and winds; and those are the only gods they have worshipped from the earliest times: they have now, however, learnt to offer sacrifice to Venus Cœlestis; borrowing the custom from the Assyrians and Arabians; the former of whom call this goddess Mylitta; the latter, Alitta; and the Persians, Mitra. Sacrifice, with the Persians, to the above deities, is conducted in the following manner: they raise no altars, kindle no fires, when about to offer a victim: they make no use of libation, or flute, or labels,[1] or roasted barley:[2] every one that wishes to offer up sacrifice, takes the victim to a clean spot of ground, and invokes the deity, his tiara decked generally with myrtle-branches: no one that presents a victim is permitted to pray for blessings on himself alone; he must supplicate for the welfare of all the Persians and their king, in which number he himself is necessarily included: he then carves the sacrificed victim into joints, boils the flesh, and, spreading abundance of herbage, more particularly trefoil or shamrock, displays thereon the meat. When this has been properly laid out, comes a magus, who chaunts over the meat a *theogonia,* the name they give to the hymn: without such magus it is not lawful for them to offer any sacrifice. After tarrying a short time, the sacrificer carries away the flesh, and does with it whatever his fancy prompts.

[1] Two long strips of wool, hanging down from the ears, on the shoulders and along the breast.

[2] Coarse ground barley, roasted, was strewed between the horns of the victim.

Of all days, that which they are wont to honour most is the birth-day of each; on that day they hold it necessary to serve up more provisions than on others. At such times, the opulent Persians put on their board, an ox, a horse, camel, and an ass, roasted whole in ovens. The poor people make a display of the smaller kinds of cattle. They eat little dinner; but are fond of sweetmeats of all kinds, served separately, not all together. And it is on that account, they say, "that the Hellenes, when they have once eaten, cease to be hungry, because, after dinner, nothing of any account is brought in; but if any delicacies were to be produced, they would no longer cease to eat."

They are exceedingly addicted to wine; but it is forbidden them to vomit, or to make water, in the presence of another. These customs are still now in vogue. They are in the practice, also, of debating, when intoxicated, the most important affairs: whatever may have met with their approbation at these debauches is proposed to them fasting, on the day following, by the landlord at whose house the council is held; and if their decisions still meet with their approbation when thus fasting, they adopt them. The resolutions entered into while fasting are, on the other hand, submitted to them when they are under the influence of wine.

When Persians meet one another on the highways, any spectator can ascertain whether the individuals that come in contact are equal in rank, by this sign: before they accost each other, they kiss on the lips: if one is a little inferior to the other, they kiss on the cheeks: if one of the parties is greatly below the other, he prostrates himself and kisses the ground. As a nation, they honour, immediately after themselves, those that reside next to them; those further on are the second in their estimation; and so by degrees, as they advance further from themselves, apportion their honours, holding in account the least of all such as reside at the greatest distance from Persia; thinking themselves, of all nations, the most worthy in every respect; and all others inferior in virtue, according to the proportion above described; the most distant from themselves being the worst of all. Under the empire of the Medes, one nation even ruled over another; the Medes over all, gen-

erally speaking, and particularly over those resident next to themselves: these, over the nations on their boundaries; they again, over the more removed. In the same order the Persians also distribute their honour and respect; for they are themselves an ancient and superior race.

The Persians are of all nations the most prone to adopt foreign manners and customs: for instance, they wear the Medic costume, fancying it more handsome than their national dress: in war, they adopt the Egyptian cuirasses; and indulge in all voluptuous luxuries they become acquainted with: a pareicular example of which is, that they have adopted from the Hellenes an infamous practice; they marry each several lawful wives, but at the same time keep many concubines. Next to gallant conduct in battle, the most manly qualification is deemed to be the possession of a numerous offspring: the king every year sends gifts to him that exhibits the greatest number of children: number is regarded as force. their children are brought up, commencing from the fifth year and continuing to the twentieth, in three things alone; horse-riding, use of the bow, and speaking the truth: previously to the fifth year, the children never come in the presence of the father, but pass their whole time with the womn: the motive for this custom is, that if the child happen to die in his infancy, he may not give any uneasiness to his father.

The above custom I approve of: as I do also of the next following; which is, that not even the king himself is allowed to put to death any person for one crime only; neither is it lawful for any Persian to inflict any very severe punishment on one of his slaves, before he has carefully considered and ascertained whether his misdeeds are more numerous than his good services, in which case he may gratify his anger. They deny that any human being ever murdered his own father or mother; but assert, that whenever such things have taken place, if matters were properly looked into, it would be necessarily found that they are committed by supposititious or adulterine children: for it is unnatural to suppose, they say, that the lawful and real parent of a child should be killed by that same child.

The things that it is unlawful for them to do, they may not mention: lying is, they hold, the most disgraceful of vices: next to which is the contracting of debts, for many reasons: but especially because, they say, it is absolutely necessary that a debtor should tell lies. Whosoever of the natives has the leprosy, or morphew, is forbidden to enter a town, or to have any communication with the rest of the Persians: they pretend that all afflicted with those distempers must have sinned against the sun: many of them even drive out of the country every stranger that may have caught these diseases: they likewise drive away all white pigeons, attributing to them the same infections. They never make water in rivers, nor spit nor wash their hands in them; but prevent others from so doing, and in all respects venerate highly their streams. They have another peculiarity, which the Persians themselves do not take notice of, but which we fail not to observe: it is, that their names, allusive to the body and to grandeur, end all in one and the same letter, that called *San* by the Dorians, and *Sigma* by the Ionians. If you examine the names of the Persians ending in that letter, you will find they all do so, invariably. The above things being perfectly known to me, I am able to speak positively of them.

The following particulars, relating to the dead, are mentioned not so authentically, being kept secret. The dead body of a Persian is never interred until it has been lacerated by some bird or dog: that the magians do thus, I am confident, for they do it openly: the Persians then case the body in wax, and conceal it under ground. The magians, however, differ exceedingly from other men, and from the Egyptian priests in particular: for the latter kill nothing that breathes, with the exception of the victims that they sacrifice; whereas the magians, with their own hands, kill all animals, except man and dog: they display even great ardour in the destruction of ants and serpents, and of all other creeping and flying things. But be this custom observed, as it has been from the first, I now return to my former subject.

The Ionians and Æolians sent ambassadors to Cyrus at Sardis, immediately after the subjection of the Lydians: they were desirous of being subjects to Persia, on the same terms

as they had been, before, to Crœsus. Cyrus having heard the purport of what they proposed, related to them this fable: "Once upon a time," said he, "a piper seeing some fishes in the sea, began to pipe, in the expectation of their coming out of the water, on land. He was disappointed of his hopes; so he took a casting-net, threw it on a numerous shoal of the fishes, and hauled them up. Seeing them bound on the shore, he said to them, 'Cease now your dancing; since, when I piped, you chose not to come out to dance.'"

Cyrus related this parable to the Ionians and Æolians, for these reasons; that the Ionians, when he before had, by his deputies, employed them to shake off the yoke of Crœsus, had refused to take his advice; but now the work was done, they were ready enough to hearken to him: in consequence of this, irritated at their behaviour, he gave them the above fable for answer. At the receipt of this intelligence, which was communicated to all the cities, each state fortified themselves, by building walls around their towns; and all met together at the Panionium, with exception of the Milesians, the only state with which Cyrus entered into the same treaty as the Lydian sovereign had done before. The rest of the Ionians agreed unanimously to send ambassadors to Sparta and implore assistance.

The Ionians, to whom also the Panionium belongs, have erected their towns under the finest sky and sweetest climate in the world, that we know of: for no country approaches to Ionia in these blessings, neither above nor below, nor west nor east; some of which are oppressed by cold and wet; others, by heat and drought. These Ionian states have not all one and the same language: it divides into four different branches. Miletus, the first of these states, lies south; next to which are Myus and Priene: these three places are situate in Caria, and use one common dialect. The states in Lydia are, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa: these settlements do not at all agree, with the others mentioned above, in language; they speak a dialect common to themselves. There are three more Ionian states; two of which, Samos and Chios, occupy islands: the third stands on the main land, Erythræ. The Chians, accordingly, and the Erythræans, speak one and

the same dialect: the Samians have a form of language peculiar to themselves. These make up the four characteristic branches.

Among these Ionians, therefore, the Milesians were under shelter from any alarming danger, as they had already framed a treaty: there was no cause for terror, either, to the islanders; for the Phœnicians were not as yet subjected to the Persians, neither were the Persians themselves any thing of sailors. The Milesians had seceded from the rest of the Ionians for the following and no other reason, that, feeble as the Hellenic corporation was in those days, the Ionic was, of all the Hellenic tribes, the weakest and most insignificant, by far; for, Athens excepted, they possessed not one state of any renown. The other Ionians [outside the Ionic league] accordingly, together with the Athenians, shunned the name, and would not be called Ionians: I know many of them, even now, that blush at the name.

These twelve states, however, prided themselves on the appellation, and established for themselves, separately, a holy precinct, to which they affixed the name of Panionium. They decreed, that this temple should not be shared by any other of the Ionians; nor, indeed, did any crave for admittance, unless the Smyrnæans.

[The Ionians of Asia are colonists from Greece.]

Those among them that came from the prytaneum of Athens, and imagine themselves the purest of the Ionians, brought no wives with them to their new settlement; but took to themselves Carian women, after they had killed all the men belonging to them. In consequence of this massacre, these women established a law, which they bound themselves to by oath, and bequeathed to their daughters—that they would never eat with their husbands, nor call them by that name; because they had slain their fathers, husbands and children, and, after so doing, had taken them to live with them.

The ambassadors from the Ionians and Æolians, on their arrival at Sparta—for all these matters were transacted with great celerity—elected for their common orator a citizen of Phocæa, whose name was Pythermus: he put on a purple

cloak, with a view that as many as possible of the Spartans might be informed and assemble: he then stood up, made a long discourse, beseeching them to assist his countrymen. But the Lacedæmonians, without listening to what he had to say, decidedly refused to give any assistance to the Ionians. The deputies therefore retraced their steps. The Lacedæmonians, however, although they had rejected the Ionian ambassadors, sent, at the same time, some men on board a penteconter, for the purpose, I have no doubt, of reconnoitring the affairs of Cyrus and the Ionians.

On the arrival of these people at Phocæa, they sent up to Sardis the most approved man in the party, whose name was Lacrines: he repeated to Cyrus the warning of the Lacedæmonians, "that Cyrus should beware of attacking any city standing on Hellenic ground, as they did not intend to be idle spectators." The herald having pronounced these words, Cyrus is related to have inquired, of the Hellenes who were present, "Who were these Lacedæmonians, and what their numbers, that they dared to accost him in such a manner." Having received the information he wanted, he addressed the Spartan herald in the following words: "Never yet was I afraid of such people as have an appointed space in the middle of their town, where they congregate to cheat one another by false oaths. If I preserve my health, they shall have to chatter about their own sufferings, not so much about those of the Ionians." Cyrus threw out this taunt against all the Hellenes, because they have markets where they practise buying and selling: for the Persians themselves are not wont to have any such marts; a market is a thing unknown with them.

Some time after, Cyrus appointed Tabalus, a Persian, as governor of Sardis; and made choice of Pactyas, a Lydian, who was to superintend the conveyance of the gold taken from Crœsus and the other Lydians: he then directed his march towards Ecbatana, taking with him Crœsus; at first, regarding the Ionians as of no importance. The great obstacles, in his career, were, Babylon, the Bactrian people, the Sacæ, and the Egyptians: he proposed himself to head the forces against these latter, and send some other general against the Ionians. As Cyrus was on his way from Sardis, Pactyas stirred up the

Lydians to revolt from Tabalus and Cyrus: being in possession of all the gold found at Sardis, he went down to the sea-coast, where he hired mercenaries, and prevailed on the people at the out-ports to join him in the expedition: he then marched his troops against Sardis, and besieged Tabalus, who was shut up in the citadel.

Cyrus received intelligence of this, while on his road: and addressed Crœsus. "Crœsus," said he, "what will be the end of these proceedings? The Lydians, it seems, will never cease to cut out work for themselves and me. I really think the best thing I can do is, to sell them off at once into slavery. For now, indeed, every body must see, that, at all events, I have acted just as if I had cut off the father, and spared the children: since I am carrying away you, who were something more than a father to the Lydians, while I trust the city to Lydians themselves: and then I am astonished that they stand up against me!"

These words discovered what Cyrus contemplated: Crœsus dreaded lest he should utterly destroy Sardis. "Sire," replied he, "what you say, is agreeable to reason. But, let me beseech you, yield not to the impulse of your mind wholly! destroy not an ancient city, guiltless of any former offences, or even of the present events. I myself was the author of the former grievance, and my head pays the forfeit: in the present rebellion, Pactyas is the culprit; Pactyas, to whom you confided Sardis: let him, then, pay the penalty. Shew mercy to the Lydians; do by them as I will tell you; to the end, they shall never more rebel, never more be an object of terror to you. Send to them, and say, they shall no longer have in their keeping any weapons of war: bid them put on linen shirts beneath their cloaks, and bind buskins on their legs: command them to sweep the cithern strings, to dance, to teach their sons to chaffer; and forthwith, mighty king, you will see them converted from men into women, so that you will never have to fear rebellions on their part."

[Cyrus acts upon Crœsus's advice; he orders the Lydians to change their mode of life, and he proceeds against Pactyas, who flees to Cyma, the people of which send him to Chios;

the Chians deliver him to Cyrus for a gift of land. The Persian general Mazares dying, Cyrus appoints Harpagus, the man who assisted him to the throne, to the place. Harpagus seizes Phocæa.]

These Phocæans were the first of the Hellenes that performed any long voyages by sea: they were the discoverers of the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas, of Iberia and Tartessus. They sailed not in merchants' craft, but in fifty-oared galleys: on their coming to Tartessus, they became favourites of the king, called Arganthonius: he was ruler over Tartessus eighty years, and lived, in all, one hundred and twenty years. The Phocæans became such great favourites of this old man, that he exhorted them at first to forsake Ionia, and come and live in his country, wherever they chose: afterwards, not being able to prevail on the Phocæans to accede to his advice, and informed that the Mede was growing in strength in their neighbourhood, he gave them money to erect a wall around their city; and gave it with no sparing hand, for the walls are not a few stades in circuit, all built of immense blocks nicely joined together. The Phocæan walls had been accordingly built in the above manner, when Harpagus brought on his forces, and besieged them; first proffering terms, "that he would be satisfied if the Phocæans would throw down only one of their battlements, and consecrate one house to the king's service."

The Phocæans, abhorring thraldom, said, "they wished for one day to hold counsel, when they would return an answer: they stipulated also, that, during the time they were debating, he should conduct his army to a distance from the walls." Harpagus observed, that "he knew perfectly well what their intentions were, but he would permit them to hold council." At the appointed time, therefore, Harpagus led his troops away from the walls; and the Phocæans meanwhile launched their fifty-oared galleys, placing on board their children, wives, and moveables, together with the images of the temples and other votive offerings, except articles of stone, or brass, or painting: having stored all these things, and embarked themselves, they took their departure for Chios: and the Persians took possession of Phocæa, thus deserted by its inhabitants. The Chians refused to part with the Œnyssæ islands; which the Pho-

cæans wished to purchase, being afraid lest that station should become a staple for trade, and exclude their own island: the Phocæans, therefore, determined to make for Cyrnus, where they had, twenty years previous to this, erected, in obedience to the behest of the oracle, a city called Alaia: Arganthonius being at that time no longer alive. Previous to sailing for Cyrnus, they steered back to Phocæa; where they put to the sword the Persian garrison appointed by Harpagus to guard the city: after they had done this, they pronounced horrid imprecations on such as should desert the fleet: they let down also, a red-hot peg of iron into the sea; and swore "they would never come back to Phocæa, before that peg of iron came to light again."

The people of Teos acted nearly in the same manner as the Phocæans: for when Harpagus had, by means of his excavations, become master of their citadel, they embarked on board of their ships, and sailed away to Thrace; where they built the town of Abdera, on the site before chosen by Timesias of Clazomenæ; who, however, did not enjoy his acquisition, being expelled by the Thracians. He now received honours, as a hero, from the Teian settlers of Abdera.

The above, therefore, were the only Ionians, who, rather than brook thraldom, forsook their countries: the rest of the Ionians, with the exception of the Milesians, gave battle to Harpagus; and proved themselves gallant men, as well as those who had left their country, each fighting for his own: they were, however, defeated and subdued: each remained in his respective country, and paid the appointed impost. The Milesians, as I said before, had entered into a treaty with Cyrus himself: they enjoyed peace. Thus, therefore, Ionia was, for the second time, deprived of freedom; and when Harpagus had completely subjugated the Ionians on the continent, those settled on the islands, dreading the same treatment, gave themselves up to Cyrus.

Harpagus having subdued Ionia, invaded Caria, Caunia, and Lycia, taking both Ionians and Æolians in his ranks. The Carians, one of the above nations, consisted originally of emigrants from the islands: for of old they were subjects of Minos, and called Leleges: they held the islands, and

paid no tribute, as far as I can ascertain, by inquiry respecting so remote a period. They manned the ships of Minos, whenever he required their services: as Minos accordingly subjected a great extent of country, and was successful in war, the Carians became the most noted of all nations by far, in those days: to them the Hellenes are indebted for three inventions which they have adopted; the Carians were the first to set the example of putting crests on helmets and devices on shields; they were likewise the first that made handles for bucklers: until their time, all who carried a shield were accustomed to manage it by means of the leather thongs, with which it was slung round the neck, over the left shoulder. A very long time after this, the Ionians and Dorians drove the Carians out of the islands; and so they came to the continent.

The Caunians are aboriginal, in my opinion; yet they themselves assert that they proceed from Crete: either they have approximated to the Carians in language, or the Carians have done so to them—that is a question I cannot decide; but it is certain that they differ greatly in their manners and customs from all men, as well as from the Carians. With the Caunians, for instance, it is looked upon as very proper and decent to men, women, and children, that, according to age and friendship, they should meet together in crowds, to drink: they had once erected temples to foreign gods, but afterwards, changing their minds, determined to worship none but their paternal deities; when the Carian youth, clad in armour, and beating the air with their spears, followed up to the Calyndic mountains the foreign gods, saying, they were expelling them from the land. The Lycians, however, sprung in early times from Crete, which of old was entirely occupied by barbarians. . . . Their manners and customs are partly Cretan and partly Carian: one custom is peculiar to them, in which they differ from every other nation; they take their mothers' names, not those of their fathers: if any one ask them about their kindred, who they are, they reckon from themselves to their mother, and then rehearse their mothers' mothers. Moreover, if a free woman marry a slave, the offspring is looked upon as pure

and free; but if a free-man take for wife a strange woman, or cohabit with a concubine, the children are deemed infamous.

The Carians therefore performed no brilliant achievements, but were enslaved by Harpagus: this observation applies not only to the Carians, but likewise to the Hellenes settled in that quarter: among those resident here are the Cnidians, Lacedæmonian settlers, whose territory, jutting into the sea, is called the Triopeum: beginning from the Bybassian peninsula, the whole of Cnidia, with exception of a small space, is surrounded by the sea; for it is bounded north by the Ceramic gulf, while to the south stretches the sea of Syme and Rhodes: that narrow portion, therefore, about five stades in length, the Cnidians were excavating at the time that Harpagus was subjugating Ionia, with a view to converting their territory into an island. Within that, all belongs to them; for the Cnidian territory extends to the isthmus they were now cutting through. The Cnidians had set many hands at the work; and as the workmen, it was found, were more frequently and unaccountably wounded in the face and all other parts, particularly about the eyes, by the chips of the stone, they sent to Delphi some deputies to ask for a remedy: the Pythia, according to the Cnidians, spoke thus in trimeter verse:

> On the isthmus, erect no tower, nor delve:
> Jove would have made it an island, had he willed.

In consequence of this answer from the Pythia, the Cnidians stopped their excavation, and, without a blow, delivered themselves up to Harpagus, as soon as he made his appearance with his army. Above Halicarnassus, inland, were the Pedases: when any evil is to fall on these people or their neighbours, the priestess of Minerva acquires a long beard: three times has this occurred. These were the only people about Caria that stood any time against Harpagus: they gave a great deal of trouble, by fortifying a mountain called Lida: but the Pedases even were, after a time, captured. But when Harpagus led his army into the Xanthian plain, the Lycians came forth, and, engaging an enemy far superior to their

small band, displayed prodigious bravery: defeated and shut up in their city, they collected in the citadel their wives and children, their property and servants, then set fire to the whole, and burnt it to the ground: having so done, they bound each other by terrible oaths; and, sallying, every Xanthian died fighting. Most of the Lycians, now said to be Xanthians, are new-comers, with the exception of eighty families, which happened at that time to be away from home, and consequently were not present. Harpagus thus possessed himself of Xanthus: he likewise reduced, after the same manner, nearly the whole of Caunia; for the Caunians, generally speaking, followed the example set by the Lydians.

Harpagus therefore reduced the lower parts of Asia: in the upper parts, Cyrus himself subjugated every nation, without one exception. Most of these conquests we shall pass over. I will, however, commemorate those which gave him the greatest trouble, and are likewise the most deserving of mention.

Cyrus having subjected to his dominion all the other parts of the continent, now directed his arms against the Assyrians. Assyria comprises, besides many other extensive towns, one of the most renowned and best fortified; and there the seat of government was established, after the fall of Nineveh: this city is Babylon, of which the following is a description:—

The city stands on a wide plain, and is of a quadrangular shape, each side being one hundred and twenty stades in extent; the four sides of the city, therefore, constitute a circuit of four hundred and eighty stades in all: such are the dimensions of the city of the Babylonians: moreover, it is built and adorned with a magnificence not found in any other great city that we know of. In the first place, a moat, deep and broad, full of water, runs round the whole; next to which rises a wall, fifty royal cubits in thickness, and in height two hundred: the royal cubit is longer by three fingers' breadth than the average cubit. I must not neglect to explain how the clay dug up for the moat was consumed, and in what manner the wall was wrought. At the same time they were excavating the moat, they moulded the clay, thrown up in the works, into bricks; when a sufficient quantity of bricks

was cast, they baked them in kilns: next, making use of hot bitumen in the place of mortar, and spreading on each of the thirty bottom courses of brick a layer of wattled reeds, they first built up the edges of the moat, and then went on with the wall itself in the same manner: at the edges of the top, and on opposite sides, they erected, all round, uniform turrets, leaving between every two a space sufficient to turn a four-horse chariot. The gates leading through the wall, all around, are of solid brass, as well as the jambs and lintels. At eight days' journey from Babylon, there is a town called Is, on a small river of the same name, which discharges its stream into the Euphrates: this river Is, accordingly, brings down with its waters abundance of flakes of bitumen, from whence the bitumen used on the wall of Babylon was brought. Such, then, was the mode in which Babylon was walled around.

The city consists of two parts, divided by the Euphrates, which flows through the middle. This river rises in Armenia, is large, deep and rapid: it disembogues in the Erythræan sea. Hence the wall of each of these two parts runs to an elbow on the river side: from those elbows, following the curves on each side of the river, runs a wall of baked bricks. The city itself, full of houses, three and four stories high, is cut into rectilinear streets; some parallel to the river; others, crossing the above at right angles, conduct to the bank: in each of the latter streets, a small door opens, through the masonry, over the stream: they are in number equal to the streets themselves, are made of brass, and take down to the water. The outer wall, above described, is the main rampart to the town; but this latter, ranging in the interior, is scarcely inferior in strength to the other, although narrower. In each portion of the city stood a vast building, occupying the centre: in one, the palace, surrounded by a long and well-fortified inclosure: in the other, the brazen-gated precinct of Jove Belus, yet standing in my day, of a square shape, in each direction two stades: in the middle of the precinct rises a massive tower, one stade in length and breadth: on that rises another tower; and so on, up to eight. The road up to the top of this building runs spirally round the outside of all the towers: somewhere about the middle of the ascent, there is a place where

resting-benches stand, on which those going up may sit down and take breath.

In the last tower stands a magnificent temple; in which is placed a bed, sumptuously fitted up; and by its side, a table of gold. No statue has been erected on this spot; nor does any person pass the night here, except only a native woman, elected by the god himself: so say the Chaldees, who are the priests of Belus. These same individuals assert —not that I give any credit to what they say—that the god himself comes to the temple, and reposes in the bed, just in the same manner as the Egyptians say is the case at Thebes in Egypt; for, in fact, a woman there also lies in the temple of Thebaic Jove: both women, we are told, have no communication whatever with men. Exactly the same thing takes place at Patres, in Lycia, with the woman that propounds the oracle, when there is a god there; for there is not constantly an oracle at that place: in such case as there is, the woman lies with the god at night, within the temple.

There is another temple, besides, in the Babylonian precinct below. Here is seen a colossal statue of Jove, seated; close to which stands a gold table: the flight of steps up to the throne, and the throne itself, are of gold; and, according to the Chaldees, all these articles are computed to be eight hundred talents of gold. Outside of the temple is a golden altar; together with another large altar, where all full-grown sheep are sacrificed, none but sucklings being allowed to be sacrificed on the golden altar. On the larger of these altars, annually, the Chaldees burn one thousand talents of frankincense, when they celebrate the feast of this god Belus. There was at that time, also, in the precinct, a statue of twelve cubits of solid gold;—not of course that I ever saw it: what I say, I repeat on the authority of the Chaldees. Darius the son of Hystaspes coveted this statue, but durst not seize it: Xerxes son of Darius, however, took it away, and killed the priest that warned him not to move the image.—Thus have I described how the holy precinct was decorated. I must add, there were abundance of private offerings.

Several sovereigns, at different times, have ruled over

Babylon, whom I shall mention in my Assyrian history: they were the builders of the walls and sacred edifices. Two of them, especially, were women: she who reigned the first, was many generations anterior to the second; her name was Semiramis: this princess accomplished several works on the plain, that are worthy of contemplation: previously to her reign, the river was wont to inundate, and make a sea of the whole plain.

The second queen, that flourished after Semiramis, bore the name of Nitocris: her genius was greater than that of the queen before her: she left, as a memento, the works which I shall presently describe: in the next place, seeing the Medes' empire great and never at rest, and observing, among other cities, that of Nineveh captured by that power, she adopted beforehand every possible expedient for preservation. First, then, by making deep excavations high up the stream, she so altered the course of the Euphrates which passes through Babylon, that, from straight that it was, it became so winding as to touch three times at one and the same village in Assyria, as it flows down: the name of this village is Ardericca; and even to this time, those that, travelling from the Mediterranean shore down to Babylon, embark on the Euphrates, pass three times, within three successive days, at this spot: this was, therefore, one of the things she accomplished.

She threw up, on both sides of the river, a prodigious mound, astonishing by its magnitude and height: she effected, a long distance above Babylon, a reservoir for a lake; which she placed not far from the river, digging for the depth till she came to water, and making its extent the circumference of four hundred and twenty stades: the earth thrown out in this excavation she expended in forming an embankment on the sides of the river. When the lake was finished digging out, she brought stones, with which she ran a case all round. These two works—I mean the windings of the stream, and the whole excavated marsh—were performed for the purpose of lengthening the course of the river; breaking its force in many windings, and making the passage to Babylon intricate; and that travellers, on quitting their barks, might still have to make the long circuit of the lake. In this

manner she threw up these vast works in that part of the country where the shortest road from Media enters Babylonia, in order that the Medes might cease to communicate with the Babylonians, and spy into her affairs.

These fortifications completed, Nitocris added the following performance, the effectual success of which was the consequence of her previous works. The town being divided into two districts, by the river flowing between, whoever, under former reigns, wished to pass over from one to the other, was obliged to cross in a boat; and that, I conceive, must have been an annoyance. Nitocris provided for this. After she had dug out the basin for the lake, she determined to leave another monument of the utility of the works thrown up on the Euphrates. She caused large blocks of stone to be hewn: when they were ready, and the basin had been excavated, she turned the whole stream of the river into the hollow she had dug. While that was filling, the original bed of the river became dry: seizing the opportunity, the queen built up, with baked bricks, the banks of the river within the city, and the steps leading down from the smaller gates to the river, after the same fashion as the great wall had been put together.

Besides this, about the middle of the city she constructed a bridge of cut stone, fastened together with lead and iron. During the day, square floors of wood were laid from pier to pier, by which the Babylonians crossed over: but at night these boards were taken away, for the purpose of preventing people from going across, in the dark, and committing robberies. When the hollow had been replenished by the river, and the bridge was finished, Nitocris brought the stream of the Euphrates back again, into its old bed, out of the lake. Thus the hollow, becoming a marsh, proved itself adapted for the purpose intended; and the inhabitants were accommodated with a bridge.

This same queen, Nitocris, planned the following deception. Over the gate, which is the greatest thoroughfare of the city, she erected her own sepulchre, high above the gate itself; and engraved on it an inscription to this

purport:—"Whoever may, after me, be the ruler of Babylon, if in want of cash, let him open this sepulchre, and take what he chooses: not, however unless he be truly in want, let him open it: for it would be no good." This sepulchre remained untouched, until the throne came to Darius. That king conceived, that it was absurd he should not be able to make use of that gate, nor touch the money there deposited; money, too, that seemed to invite his grasp. The reason that induced him not to make use of this gate, was, that if he went through, there would be a dead body over his head. He opened the sepulchre: instead of money he found nothing but the skeleton, and a scroll, purporting: "Had you not been so greedy of money and disgraceful pelf, you would not have broken into the sojourn of the dead."

It was against the son of this queen that Cyrus was accordingly directing his next attack: this Babylonian king inherited the name of Labynetus, and the Assyrian empire, from his father. When the great king goes to war, he travels provided with provisions well preserved, and cattle, from home: he takes, especially, with him, water from the Choaspes, a river that flows by Susa, of which, and no other, the king drinks. A vast number of four-wheel waggons, drawn by mules, follow in his train, wherever he goes: they are loaded with the Choaspes' water, boiled previously, and stored in silver vases.

In his march to Babylon, Cyrus came to the Gyndes, a river that rises in the Matianian mountains, flows athwart the land of the Dardanians, and falls into another river, the Tigris, which, rolling its waters through the city of Opys, disembogues in the Erythræan sea. As Cyrus, therefore, was endeavouring to get across this river Gyndes, which is only passable in barges, one of the sacred white horses, full of mettle, rushed into the stream, and tried to swim over: but the torrent seized the animal, and, whirling him under the surface, dashed him down the stream. The Persian king was much enraged by this insult on the part of the river; and pronounced a threat, that he would pull down his strength, so that for evermore even women should cross him

readily, without wetting the knee. This threat pronounced, he suspended the campaign against Babylon, and divided his troops into two bodies: this being done, he marked out, by line, one hundred and eighty channels on each side of the river, diverging from the direction of the Gyndes in all quarters. He then stationed the men, and commanded them to dig. With such a multitude of hands, the work was indeed brought to a completion: the troops, nevertheless, passed at that place the whole of the summer in the task. Cyrus having wreaked his vengeance on the Gyndes river, by distributing its stream into three hundred and sixty channels, proceeded, at the first gleam of spring to march on to Babylon.

The Babylonians, encamped on the field, awaited his onset: the Persian leader brought his army near the city, where the Babylonians gave battle; and, being routed, shut themselves within their walls. But, as they were long before convinced that Cyrus would never rest, and saw him fall on every nation indifferently, they collected beforehand provisions for many years. They cared, therefore, nothing for the blockade. Cyrus, however, found himself in difficult circumstances; a long time having slipped away, without his affairs making any progress. Whether, therefore, any person suggested the thing to him in the midst of his difficulties, or he himself conceived a plan of acting, he did as I will now describe.

He stationed the greater part of his army at the opening by which the river enters the town, placing also a few companies at the opposite opening by which the river makes its exit: he then gave his orders to the men, that when they found the stream fordable, they should push into the town: having thus dispersed his army, and given the above directions, he himself marched away with the unarmed train of his army. He came to the lake, the work of the queen of the Babylonians, and did the same by the lake and the river as she had done before; that is to say, opening the sluice into the lake, then a morass, and turning in the waters of the river, made the old bed fordable. This being the case, the Persians stationed on that service close to the Euphrates,

which now had sunk to at least the mid thigh of a man, made their ingress into Babylon. If, therefore, the Babylonians had been apprised beforehand, or had heard of what Cyrus was about, which they did not, they might have handled their foes in the most dreadful manner: they would have closed all the little gates leading down to the river, and, mounting themselves on the quays stretching along both sides of the stream, would have caught them as in a net: but in this instance the Persians took them by surprise. It is related by the people who were then residing at Babylon, that, in consequence of the immense extent of the town, the extreme limits of the city had been taken before the people dwelling in the centre of Babylon knew any thing of the capture; but—for it was with them a festive day—they were dancing at the very time, and enjoying themselves, until they also were at last brought acquainted with the truth. Thus was Babylon captured for the first time.

The most cogent proof I can give, among many others, of the resources of the Babylonians, is this one thing: the whole extent of lands over which the rule of the great king stretches, besides tributes, furnishes the sovereign and his army with provisions for food: the Babylonian district supplies this during four months of the twelve: the eight remaining months are provided by all Asia together. Thus the Assyrian soil possesses one third of the resources of the whole of Asia. Moreover, the superintendence of this province, called satrapy by the Persians, is, of all the governments, the most lucrative. When Tritantæchmes, son of Artabazus, held that government from the king, his daily income was a full artaba of silver—the Persian measure, called artaba, contains above the Attic medimnus three Attic chœnixes.[1] The horses belonging to himself personally, besides the army horses, were eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand mares; one stallion for twenty mares. So numerous were his packs of Indian dogs that he kept, that four large villages in the plain, which were relieved from all other taxes, were appointed to supply their food. Such were the advantages accruing to the governor of Babylon.

[1] Four pecks and ten pints.

The land of the Assyrians is visited with little rain, and that little water is what feeds the root of the corn: the crop, however, is made to grow up to give a harvest, by constant irrigation from the river: this irrigation does not take place, as in Egypt, by the spontaneous overflow of the river on the lands, but is done by the hand or swipe; for the whole of Babylonia is intersected by canals, the same as Egypt: the largest of these canals is navigable, and stretches in the direction of the winter sun-rise: it communicates from the Euphrates, with the Tigris, at the spot where Nineveh stood: this is, of all the lands we know any thing of, by far the best for the produce of Ceres' gifts: other plants do not even make a show of growing in this quarter, neither the fig, nor the grape, nor the olive; but the wheat it bears is beautiful in the extreme: it returns, on an average, two-hundred-fold; but when it produces its best, the return is three-hundred-fold. The blades of wheat and barley acquire easily a breadth of four fingers. Although I am well aware to what size of tree the sesame seed does grow, I shall not mention it; being fully convinced, that, to those who have never been in Babylonia, what I have already said of its products will be considered too exaggerated to be given credit to. They make no use of olive-oil, but make theirs from sesame. Palm-trees spring up all over the plain: most of these are fructiferous; and from the fruit they procure bread, wine, and honey; they cultivate them in the same manner as fig-trees, particularly as to what concerns the male palms, as the Hellenes call them; the fruit of which they tie about the branches of the date-bearing trees, in order that the fly may come out and enter into the dates, and so prevent the fruit of the palm from falling off; for the male palms have flies in their fruit, just like our wild figs.

The greatest wonder of all things here, next of course to the city, is, in my opinion, what I am now going to explain. Their boats, that ply down the river to Babylon, are all circular, and consist of leather: after making the frames in Armenia, which lies above Assyria, from the osiers they cut in that country, they stretch on the outside a leather covering, in the room of planking; making no distinction between

stem or stern, but perfectly round, like a buckler. They line the inside of this craft with straw, launch it into the river, and then stow it with merchandise. Their freight consists principally of casks filled with date-wine: they are managed, with two poles, by two men standing erect; one of whom hauls his pole in, while the other shoves his out. Very large barges are made on this pattern, and so are smaller craft: the largest of all are of five thousand talents' burthen. On board of every barge there is seen a live ass: in the larger barges there are several. When they have floated down to Babylon, and disposed of their cargo, they put up to auction the ribs of the bark, and the straw; and the skins are piled on the pack-saddle of the ass, who is driven back into Armenia. To re-ascend the river, in the same manner, is out of the question, so rapid is the current; in consequence of which, also, they are obliged to make their boats of leather, and not of wood. When they have driven their asses back to Armenia, they construct other barges in the same manner.—

The costume of the Babylonians consists of a cotton shirt, reaching down to the feet; over which they throw a woollen cloak, and a close white cape: their covering for the feet is after a fashion peculiar to this country, closely approaching to the Bœotian clogs. Their flowing hair they bind up under a mitre, and anoint the whole body with perfumes. Every individual has a seal; and a staff, made by hand, on every one of which is carved an apple, a rose, a lily, and so forth: for they are not allowed to carry a stick, unless it bear some mark.

The following are some of their customs: the wisest in my idea is this, which I understand holds also among the Venetians of Illyria. Once every year the following scene took place in every village: whatever maidens might be of marriageable years, were all collected, and brought into one certain place, around which stood a multitude of men. A crier called up each girl separately, and offered her for sale: he began with the prettiest of the lot; and when she had found a rich bidding, he sold her off; and called up another, the next he ranked in beauty. All these girls were sold off in marriage: the rich men, that were candidates for a wife,

BABYLONIAN MARRIAGE MARKET

From a painting by Edwin Long

ONCE EVERY YEAR ALL MARRIAGEABLE MAIDENS WERE COLLECTED IN THE TEMPLE AND, BEGINNING WITH THE PRETTIEST, WERE SOLD AS WIVES TO THE HIGHEST BIDDERS UNTIL THE UGLY GIRLS WERE REACHED, FOR WHOM NONE WOULD BID, AND THESE WERE THEN DISPOSED OF BY OFFERING BONUSES WITH THEM, TAKEN FROM THE PROCEEDS OF THE SALE OF THE PRETTY ONES. —Page 104.

bade against one another for the handsomest: the more humble classes, desirous of getting partners, did not require absolutely beauty, but were willing to take even the ugly girls for a sum of money. Therefore, when the crier had gone through the list of the prettiest women, and disposed of them, he put up the ugliest, or some one that was a cripple, if any there were, and, offering to dispose of her, called out for the bidder that would, for the smallest sum, take her to live with him: so he went on, till he came to her that he considered the least forbidding. The money for this was got by the sale of the pretty maidens; so that the handsome and well shaped gave dowries to the ugly and deformed. It was not lawful for any one to give his daughter to whom he chose; nor for a person to take a girl away that he had purchased, without giving bond that he verily proposed to marry her; when he might take her with him. If the couple could not agree, the law permitted the money to be returned. It was also allowed to any man coming from another village to make a purchase, if he chose. This was the best of their institutions. Lately, they have hit upon an expedient, that their daughters might not be maltreated or carried off to some other town: for since they have been conquered, they are ill-treated and ruined by their lords; and all the lower orders, for the sake of getting a livelihood, prostitute their female offspring.

The following is another of their institutions. They bring out into the public square all their sick; for they have no regular doctors. The persons that meet the sick man, give him advice; and exhort him to do the same that they themselves have found to cure such a disease, or have known some other person to be cured by. They are not allowed to pass by any sick person, until they have asked him what ailing he has.—They embalm the dead in honey: their lamentations are nearly the same as in Egypt. Every Babylonian that has conversed with his own wife sits down near the smoke of burning perfumes; the woman, on her part, does the same; and at dawn of day both wash; for until they have done so, they will not touch any vase: the same practice holds with the Arabians.

The most disgraceful of the Babylonian customs is this: every native woman must, once in her life, sit down in the holy precinct of Venus, and have communication with some stranger. Many of these women disdaining to mix with the others, and inflated by their riches, go to the temple in covered carriages, followed by a numerous retinue of servants. But the majority act in the following manner: they seat themselves in the temple of Venus, wearing on their heads a wreath of cord: some are coming, others are going: paths are set off by line in every direction through the crowds of women, by which the strangers pass and make their choice. When a woman has once taken her seat there, she cannot return home until some stranger casts a piece of silver on her knees, and enjoys her person outside of the temple. When he throws the money, he is to say this much: "In the name of the goddess Mylitta." The Assyrians call Venus, Mylitta: the piece of silver may be ever so small; it will not be refused, for that is not lawful; but that coin is deemed sacred. The woman follows the first man that throws: she refuses no one. After surrendering her person, the goddess being satisfied, she returns home; and from that time, however great a sum you may give her, you will not obtain her favours. Such girls as are endowed with beauty and grace soon return home; others, that are deformed, tarry a long time, finding themselves unable to fulfil the law: some even have remained three or four years. In many parts of Cyprus the same custom, nearly, is in vogue. Such, then, are the customs with the Babylonians. There are three tribes among them that eat nothing but fish; which, after they have caught and dried it, they prepare thus: they put it into a mortar, bray it with a pestle, and drive it through a sieve; and whoever chooses, may make frumenty, or bake it into bread.

Cyrus having done with this nation also, conceived the desire of subjecting to his dominion the Massagetæ. This people is described as both great and warlike, dwelling eastward, towards the rising sun, beyond the Araxes river, and opposite to the Issedones: there are even some persons who assert that this nation is Scythian. The Araxes is represented as both larger and smaller than the Ister: there are islands,

thickly studded, on this stream, and nearly as considerable in size as Lesbos: on these islands are found men that in summer live upon roots of all sorts, which they grub up; but store up also, as food, the ripe fruits they get from the trees, and upon which they live in winter: they have also discovered a particular kind of tree, bearing fruit of a peculiar quality: at times, they collect together in large parties, kindle a fire, and, sitting in a ring around, throw some of this fruit into the flames. By inhaling the fumes of the burning fruit they have thrown in, they become intoxicated by the smell, as the Hellenes are by wine: the more fruit they throw on, the more inebriated they are; till at last they get up to dance and sing. Such their mode of life is said to be.

The Araxes flows from the Matianian mountains—the same that the Gyndes rises in, which Cyrus dispersed into the three hundred and sixty channels: the waters of the former gush out of forty springs; all of which, with the exception of one, discharge themselves into swampy marshes, where men are said to reside that live on raw fish, and wear seal-skin garments. That one stream of the Araxes I have mentioned, flows, without impediment, into the Caspian sea. The Caspian is a sea of itself; that is to say, it does not mix with any other sea: for all that sea which the Hellenes navigate, and the Atlantic without the Pillars, together with the Erythræan sea, are all one and the same. But, as I have said, the Caspian is a different sea of itself; which, in length, is a fortnight's voyage in a row-boat; and in breadth, at its widest part, a week's voyage. On the western shore of this sea stretches the range of Caucasus, the largest and loftiest of mountains.

Many and various races inhabit the regions of Caucasus, the majority of whom live on the wild products of the forest; among which are trees that supply leaves, which, when rubbed and mixed with water, give a dye, with which their garments may be stained with all sorts of figures. The figures never fade, but last as long as the stuff itself, just the same as if it were inwoven at first: it is said that among these people the sexual intercourse takes place openly, as with cattle. The Caucasus, therefore, serves as a boundary

to the Caspian sea in the west: on the east, and towards the rising sun, a plain succeeds, the extent of which is far beyond the stretch of the eye. A considerable portion of this heath is occupied by the Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus projected war: motives, numerous and powerful, incited and urged him on: in the first place, his birth, which he considered as something more than human; secondly, the good fortune that had attended him in his wars: for wherever Cyrus directed his arms, it was wholly impossible for that nation to escape.

The preceding king's widow, called Tomyris, was the queen over these Massagetæ. Cyrus despatched to her an ambassador, under pretence of paying his addresses, and offering marriage; but Tomyris, aware that it was not herself, but the kingdom of the Massagetæ, that he courted, forbade his approach. Cyrus, thus thwarted in his attempt to deceive, marched to the Araxes, and made open preparations for war with the Massagetæ, by erecting a bridge over the river, and building floating castles to convey the troops across. While the Persian chief was thus employed, Tomyris sent a herald to him, who was to say: "King of the Medes, cease your great haste; for you cannot yet know whether this will end to your advantage. Cease, then, once more: rule over your own dominions; and contemplate, with a peaceful eye, my government over what is mine. If you will not hearken to this advice, but prefer every thing before quietness and repose—if you are so excessively anxious to make trial of the Massagetæ—come; spare yourself the trouble of throwing a bridge across the river. We will retire three days' march from the river: meanwhile, do you cross into our territory: but if you had rather receive us on your own ground, do you the same."

When Cyrus heard this proposal, he called a meeting of the chief Persians: the assembly convened, Cyrus laid the business before them, asking their opinion as to how he should act. They unanimously agreed in advising him to admit Tomyris and her army on his own soil. Crœsus was present: the Lydian prince disapproved the counsel; took up the opposite side of the question; and said: "Mighty

king, I have already observed to you, that since Jove has given me into your hands, whatever misfortune I may see impending over your house, to use all my exertions to turn it aside. My sufferings, bitter as they are, have been a lesson to me. If you consider yourself and your army immortal, there can be no need of my explaining to you what my opinion is: yet, if you are convinced that you yourself even are but a man, and those you rule over nothing more, be in the first place apprised of this—the wheel of human life is ever revolving, and will not allow the same mortal to be constantly successful. Now, therefore, the opinion I hold on the matter in question is wholly contrary to that of this assembly. If we resolve to receive the foe on our own ground, I say that there is this danger in so doing; if on one hand you are defeated, you will lose, besides, your whole empire; for it is clear the Massagetæ, if conquerors, will not retrace their steps, but will dash forward, into the heart of your dominions: if, on the other hand, you conquer, still is your conquest not so complete as if you had your foot on their soil, had conquered the Massagetæ, and were pursuing the fugitives: for I shall still object to this assembly, that after routing your adversaries you will directly press on into the interior of Tomyris's dominions. And, moreover, is it not disgraceful and intolerable that Cyrus the son of Cambyses should retire before a woman, on his own territory? My opinion therefore is, that you should cross the Araxes, and go as far as they retire; and having so done, endeavour to gain the day upon them. The Massagetæ, I am told, know of none of the Persian delicacies, and are inexperienced of the comforts of life. For such men, therefore, slaughter abundance of cattle, dress the flesh, and spread it forth in our camp; add vases filled to the brim with wine unmixed with water, and all sorts of dishes. Having done this, leave the worst portion of your army behind; let the rest return again to the river; and, if I am not mistaken, the enemy, seeing all these good things, will fall to and devour them; and it will remain for us to achieve a mighty work."

Such were the plans proposed on both sides. Cyrus rejected the former, and adopted that of Crœsus: he made

known to Tomyris, that she might retreat, and he would cross the Araxes to give her the meeting: she retired, according to her previous stipulation; and Cyrus, placing Crœsus in the hands of Cambyses, to whom he bequeathed the kingdom, earnestly prescribed to his son to honour and shew every attention to the captured prince, in case the campaign against the Massagetæ should be a failure. Having given these injunctions, and sent Crœsus and Cambyses off to Persia, he crossed the river with his forces. Arrived on the opposite bank of the Araxes, at the fall of day he beheld, as he slept in the land of the Massagetæ, a vision: it was this: Cyrus fancied in his sleep that he beheld the eldest son of Hystaspes with wings on his shoulders, one of which shadowed Asia, the other Europe. The eldest son of Hystaspes the son of Arsames, one of the Achæmenides, was Darius, then at best but twenty years of age: this son of his was left in Persia, not being of age to join the expedition. When Cyrus awoke, he considered within himself about his dream; and, as the token seemed important, he sent for Hystaspes; and, taking him aside, said: "Hystaspes, I have detected your son plotting against me and my throne: I am certain of it, and will tell you how: the gods watch over me, and forewarn me of all things that are to come. Now, this very night, in my sleep, I beheld the eldest of your sons with wings on his shoulders; one of which covered Asia, the other Europe, with shade. There cannot be the slightest doubt, from this dream, that the youth is conspiring against me. Go back, therefore, as speedily as you can to Persia; and manage so, that when I return there from the present expedition, you may produce your son before me, to examine." Cyrus spoke thus in the conviction that Darius was plotting against him; but the divinity foreshowed to him, that he would himself be killed in the campaign, and that his kingdom would descend to Darius. Hystaspes' answer was accordingly in these words: "Sire, lives there a Persian that would conspire against you: if so, let him forthwith die: for you have made the Persians, from being slaves, to be free men; in place of being lorded by all, to rule over all. If any dream has announced to you that my son broods any disturbance

against you, I pledge myself to deliver him into your hands, to do by him what you choose." Hystaspes having returned the above answer, repassed the Araxes; and proceeded into Persia, to take his son into custody, and bring him before Cyrus.

Cyrus having advanced one day's march from the banks of the Araxes, proceeded to act according to the suggestion of Crœsus. Having done as he advised, Cyrus, and the efficient part of the Persian army, marched back to the Araxes, leaving the inefficient forces behind: the third division of the Massagetic army coming up, put to death the men that composed the body he had left behind, and that resisted: then, seeing the provisions spread out, they stretched themeslves on the turf, and feasted, after routing their enemies. Filled with food and wine, they dropped to sleep: and the Persians coming up, put many to the sword, but took a much greater number prisoners: among the rest, the leader of the Massagetæ, son of queen Tomyris, called Spargapises. Tomyris, informed of what had happened to her army and to her son, sent a herald to Cyrus, to say: "Cyrus, you that are never satiate of blood, boast not of what has taken place; for it was the juice of the grape—which causes you yourself, when filled with it, to rave so, and sinks down into your body but to throw back a tide of insolent abuse—it was by that poison you deceived my son, and not in fair battle. Now, listen to some good advice, which I offer in good part: restore to me my son, and depart unpunished from this land, although you have so cruelly treated the third of my army. If you refuse to do this, I swear by the sun, the god of the Massagetæ, that, insatiate as you are, I will glut you with blood!"

Cyrus took no account of this message; and Spargapises, having recovered from the influence of wine, and seen the extent of his misfortune, begged Cyrus to liberate him from his fetters, which was granted: no sooner was he released, however, and had regained the use of his hands, than he put an end to his life. Such was the fate of the son; but Tomyris, not being listened to by Cyrus, called all her forces together, and gave battle to Cyrus.—I take it this engagement was the most bloody of battles that ever took place between foreign

nations; I have heard the following description of the fight. First, it is related, that, at a distance from one another, the two armies fought with their bows and arrows: when their arrows were all shot away, they closed, and engaged with javelin and cutlass, man to man: for a long time the battle raged; neither party would give way; but at last the Massagetæ got the upper hand: most part of the Persian army was cut to pieces on the field; and there also fell Cyrus, after a reign of nine-and-twenty years. Tomyris filled a skin with human blood: she caused the body of Cyrus to be looked for among the slain of the Persians: it was found: she plunged his head into the skin, and reviled the dead body, saying: "Although I live, and have conquered thee in battle, thou hast ruined me for ever, by ensnaring my son. But I will gorge thee, as I threatened, with blood."—This account of the death of Cyrus, of the many that are given out, appears to me the most authentic.

The Massagetæ wear the same costume as the Scythians, and have the same mode of life: their forces consist of horse and foot; both join in battle: there are bowmen and javelin-men, who are wont to carry battle-axes. They make great use of gold and copper: in what concerns the spear-head, arrow-head, and battle-axe, they make all of copper: all that belongs to the helmet, girdle, and coat of mail, is ornamented with gold: in the same manner, they put copper mail on the cruppers of their horses; but the bridle, bit, and head-trappings, are of gold: they use no silver or iron; for those metals are not found in their country, which abounds, however, in copper and gold. Their manners and customs are as follows: every man marries one woman, but all the women are in common; for it is the Massagetæ, not the Scythians, as the Hellenes assert, that have this practice.

Whatever female a Massagetan man feels a desire to enjoy he has only to hang his quiver on her waggon, and do what he wishes at his ease. No limit is set to human life; but when a man becomes exceedingly infirm by age, his nearest kinsmen all meet, and sacrifice him, together with other cattle: they then boil the flesh, and feast on it: this is considered the happiest mode of ending life. Such as die of disease

are not eaten; but are placed under ground, their friends lamenting that they did not reach the age to be sacrificed. They sow no pulse; but live on their cattle and fish, which abound in the Araxes: their beverage, also, is milk. They worship the sun alone, to whom they offer up horses: the reason of which custom is, that they think it right to consecrate the swiftest of mortal creatures to the swiftest of the gods.

EUTERPE [BOOK II]

At the decease of Cyrus, Cambyses succeeded to the throne: he was a son of Cyrus, by the daughter of Pharnaspes, Cassandane; whose previous death Cyrus not only mourned deeply himself, but commanded all that he ruled over likewise to mourn. Cambyses, the son of this princess and of Cyrus, considered the Ionians and Æolians as hereditary slaves; and when about to open a campaign against Egypt, took men, not only from the other nations under his rule, but also from those Hellenes that had been conquered.

The Egyptians, prior to the reign of Psammitichus, regarded themselves as the most ancient of mankind. But that prince, having come to the throne, resolved to ascertain what people were the first in existence: from that time the Egyptians have allowed that the Phœnicians existed before them, but that they themselves are anterior to all others. Psammitichus, finding it impossible to ascertain, by inquiry, any means of discovering who were the first of the human race, devised the following experiment. He delivered over to a herdsman two newborn children of humble parents, to rear them, with his flocks, after this manner: his orders were, that no one should ever pronounce a word in the presence of the children, who were to be kept by themselves in a solitary apartment; at certain hours goats were to be brought to them; the herdsman was to see that they sucked their fill of milk, and then go about his business. This was done and ordered by Psammitichus for the purpose of hearing what word the children would first utter, after they left off the unmeaning cries of infancy. And such accordingly

was the result. For the pastor had continued during the space of two years to act according to these orders, when one day opening the door, and entering, both the children fell upon him crying 'becos,' and stretching out their hands. The first time that the shepherd heard this, he accordingly kept quiet; but the same word occurred repeatedly, every time he came to attend to them: he therefore let his master know, and was ordered to bring the children into his presence. Psammitichus heard himself the word; and inquired what people it was that called, in their language, any thing 'becos:' he was informed that the Phœnicians give that name to 'bread.' In consequence, the Egyptians, having deliberately weighed the matter, gave place to the Phœnicians, and granted they were more ancient than themselves. It was by the priests of Vulcan, at Memphis, that I was informed things occurred as I have thus described. The Hellenes, however, add many other nonsensical things; for instance, that Psammitichus cut out the tongues of some women, and, by their assistance, succeeded in bringing up the children:—so far for the account of the education of these children.[1]

In my conversations with the priests of Vulcan I heard many other traditions at Memphis; and even proceeded to Thebes and Heliopolis, on their account, being desirous to know whether the traditions there would coincide with those at Memphis; for the Heliopolitans are represented as the most skilful antiquaries among the Egyptians. Of those traditions that relate to divine things, and which I may have heard, it is not my intention to mention any thing more than the mere names; for I think all men equally wise upon these matters. If I should casually mention such things, it will be only when necessitated, by the course of the narrative.

So far, then, as concerns human matters, they agree among themselves in the statements I am going to present. That the Egyptians were the first people in the world to discover the year, and distribute over it the twelve parts of the four sea-

[1] This experiment was renewed in the fifteenth century, by James IV, king of Scotland, who shut up two children in the isle of Inchkeith, with a dumb attendant to wait upon them.

sons; a discovery, they said, deduced from the stars: (so far, in my opinion, they act more wisely than the Hellenes; for the Hellenes intercalate every other year one month, on account of the seasons:[1] the Egyptians, on the other hand, reckon twelve months of thirty days, and add to every year five days above that number, so that the circle of the seasons comes around to the same point.) They assert, likewise, that the Egyptians were the first to adopt and bring into use the names of the twelve gods; a practice which the Hellenes borrowed from them:[2] they were likewise the first to erect altars, as well as images and temples, and to invent the carving of figures on stone: of the authenticity of these statements, they, in most cases, brought proofs from facts. The priests stated, also, that Menes was the first of mortals that ever ruled over Egypt: to this they added, that in the days of that king, all Egypt, with the exception of Thebaïc nome, was but a morass; and that none of the lands now seen below Lake Mœris then existed: from the sea up to this place is a voyage, by the river, of seven days. I myself am perfectly convinced the account of the priests in this particular is correct: for the thing is evident to every one who sees and has common sense, although he may not have heard the fact, that the Egypt to which the Hellenes navigate is a land annexed to the Egyptians, and a gift from the river; and that even in the parts above the lake just mentioned, for three days' sail, concerning which the priests relate nothing, the country is just of the same description.

The nature of the Egyptian soil is, therefore, such as I will now relate. In the first place, as you make for that country, and when you are yet one day's sail from land, if you cast

[1] If their year had been exactly three hundred and sixty-five days; far from the seasons always coming at the same time, the winter months would at the end of some centuries come in the spring, and so on with the others.

[2] The Greeks did not borrow the very names from the Egyptians; but took from them the practice of giving each of their many gods some particular name. The Pelasgians, who had borrowed this usage from the Egyptians, and transmitted it to the Greeks, worshipped many gods in earliest times, but knew of no nominal distinction between them.

the sounding-lead, you will bring up mud, and find yourself in eleven fathoms' water: a proof this, that so far the alluvion extends.

[Herodotus next gives the geographical dimensions of Egypt, which correspond very closely with modern measurements.]

Most part of the country, thus described, appeared to me, in accordance with the statement of the priests, to be an adjunction to Egypt. For the space between the above-mentioned mountains, situate beyond the town of Memphis, was evidently to me, at some time or other, a gulf of the sea; after the same manner, in fact, as the country about Troy and Teuthrania, and Ephesus and the plain of the Mæander; to compare little things with great: for not one of the rivers, whose deposits have formed those countries, can be put into comparison, as to size, with even one mouth of the Nile, divided into five as the stream of that river is. But there are other rivers, not equal in size to the Nile, which have wrought great works: I might mention their names; and among others, not the least, those of the Achelous, which, flowing through Acarnania, falls into the sea, and has already converted one half of the Echinades islands into continent. There belongs also to the territory of Arabia, not far from Egypt, a gulf of the sea that stretches inland from the Erythræan sea, the length and breadth of which I will here describe: the length of the voyage, beginning from the innermost recess, and proceeding to the open sea, takes up forty days with oars; and in the broadest part of this gulf presents a passage of half a day. In this arm of the sea, an ebb and flow of the waters takes place daily. Now, in my mind, Egypt was, at one time, another similar bosom of the sea; this latter penetrating from the northern[1] sea, towards Ethiopia; and the former flowing from the southern ocean, towards Syria; working, by their respective bays, almost into one another, and leaving but very little land between them. Now, then, were the Nile to turn his stream into the aforesaid Arabian gulf, and

[1] That is to say, the Mediterranean sea: the southern sea is the Erythræan.

continue such deposits, what could hinder him from filling it up, within, say even twenty thousand years? I am myself certain that it would take less than ten thousand. How, then, I ask, in the time that elapsed before I came into the world, might not a gulf, at all events much larger than this of Egypt, have been absorbed by the deposits of so great a river, and one so capable of working changes? Therefore, I do not discredit what the priests relate concerning Egypt; but am completely of their way of thinking, when I see Egypt project beyond the neighbouring coasts into the sea, shells appearing on the mountains, and a salt efflorescence, that even eats into the pyramids; and that mountain also above Memphis, the only one that is covered with sand in Egypt: add to which, that Egypt, in its soil, resembles neither Arabia on its frontier, nor Libya, nor Syria (for there are Syrians that occupy the sea-shores of Arabia): the Egyptian earth is black, chapped, and clammy, being swept from Ethiopia by the river, and deposited here; but the ground in Libya is, we know, of a reddish colour and sandy nature; while that of Arabia and Syria is more clayey and flinty.

The following fact affords a great proof of the origin of this country: this was communicated to me also by the priests: they asserted, that, under king Mœris, whenever the river rose at least eight cubits, its waters irrigated Egypt below Memphis; and at the time I received this information from the priests, nine hundred years had not passed from the time of the death of Mœris. But in the present day, unless the waters of the river rise at least sixteen or fifteen cubits, they do not overflow the land. It appears therefore to me, that if this soil continues to grow according to the same proportion in height, and the river to furnish the same deposits for the increase, the Egyptians dwelling in what is called the Delta, and in the rest of the countries below Lake Mœris, in consequence of the land not being flooded by the Nile, must forever after suffer the very same calamity which they boded once to the Hellenes; informed that all the soil of the Hellenes is refreshed by rain, and not, as theirs, by the river floods, they observed: "Some day, the Hellenes, deceived in their hopes, will be miserably afflicted with the horrors of famine." The purport of this observation

was, "that if God did not vouchsafe rain to them, but sent a drought, the Hellenes would be taken off by famine; as it seemed they had no resource for water, excepting "Jove only." And in so saying to the Hellenes, the Egyptians are perfectly right: but let us, on the other hand, remember what would happen to the Egyptians themselves: if, as I said before, the lands below Memphis, which are those that increase, should in time to come grow in height in the same proportion, what could save the Egyptians of those parts from the same calamity of famine? when their soil will not be refreshed, at all events, by rain, and the river will no longer be able to overflow their fields. Now, indeed, these people certainly procure the fruits of the earth with less labour than any other in the world, and even than the rest of the Egyptians: they have not the toil of breaking open the furrows with the plough, nor of hoeing, nor of any other work which the rest of men must perform in cultivating a crop. On the contrary, when the river, of its own accord, has flowed over and watered the fields, and then, returning, forsaken them, each sows his own field, and drives into it the swine: after the seed has been trodden in by these animals, the crop remains the season through untouched: at last, the husbandman threshes the corn by means of the swine, and carries it to his garner.

If, therefore, we choose to adopt the opinion of the Ionians concerning Egypt, who declare that the Delta alone constitutes Egypt, and say that its shore stretches from the watch-tower of Perseus to the Pelusiac Tarichæa, a space that is equal to forty schœni; that from the sea, inland, it stretches up to the city of Cercasorus, where the Nile divides, flowing in two streams, one to Pelusium and the other to Canobus; and add, that the other parts of Egypt belong to Libya and to Arabia;—if, I say, we adopt the Ionian system, we may prove that the Egyptians had originally no territory of their own, and this by the following reasoning;—their Delta, as the Egyptians themselves say, and I share in their opinion, has flowed together, and come to light in late times, to use such an expression: if therefore they had no territory at all, what an idle thing it was to fancy that they were the oldest race in the world! surely they had no need of recurring to the experiment of the children,

to determine what language they would speak! But I do not believes the Egyptians to be co-original with the Delta, as it is called by the Ionians, but that they have existed from the time that mankind has been: that, as the soil increased, many of them were left behind, while others proceeded lower down; and therefore Thebes was, of old, called Egypt, being in circumference six thousand one hundred and twenty stades. If, then, my opinion about these matters is correct, the Ionians have very erroneous conceptions about Egypt: if, on the contrary, the opinion of the Ionians is correct, I will prove that neither the Hellenes nor the Ionians themselves know how to reckon, when they say the whole earth consists of three parts, Europe, Asia, and Libya: for they ought undoubtedly to add a fourth part, the Delta of Egypt; since, at all events, it belongs neither to Asia nor to Libya. For it is clear, that, according to this account, the Nile is not the boundary between Asia and Libya; as that river divides at the vertex of this Delta, so as to place it between Asia and Libya. But let me dismiss the opinion of the Ionians, and say what I have to say about these things; which is this:—The whole of the country inhabited by Egyptians should be Egypt; like that of the Cilicians, which is Cilicia; and that of the Assyrians, which is Assyria. I know of no boundary, correctly speaking, to Asia and Libya, unless it be the frontier of the Egyptians: but if we follow the custom of the Hellenes, we shall consider all Egypt, commencing from the cataracts[1] and Elephantine, as divided into two parts, and participating in the names of both; one part belonging to Libya, and the other to Asia; for the Nile, reckoning from the cataracts, flows on to the sea, dividing Egypt in the middle. As far, then, as the town of Cercasorus, the Nile has but one stream: from that city, however, it breaks into three directions: one of these turns eastward; it is called the Pelusiac mouth: another proceeds westward, and is called the Canobic mouth: lastly, the direct path of the Nile is this; rolling down from the upper countries, it comes to the vertex of the Delta; from thence it continues its course, dividing the Delta down the middle; and discharges into the sea, not by any means the most insignificant

[1] i. e. at the second cataract: the large one is in Ethiopia.

or least-renowned portion of its waters; this mouth is called the Sebennytic. Two more mouths diverge from the Sebennytic, and go down to the sea: their names are, one the Saïtic, the other the Mendesian. The Bolbitine and Bucolic mouths are excavations, not the work of nature.—An oracle, pronounced at Ammon, serves likewise to corroborate all that I have here demonstrated on the subject of Egypt: this argument was communicated to me after I had formed my own opinion of the nature of this country. The inhabitants of Marea and Apis, who are situated on the confines of Libya, fancied they were Libyans, not Egyptians; and being discontented with the rites that concern victims, would fain be no longer restricted from the use of cow's flesh: they sent accordingly to Ammon, and represented, that "there was nothing common between them and the Egyptians; as they dwelt without the Delta, and used not the same language; and wished to be allowed to eat of all things." But the god denied the request, saying, that "all the country which the Nile reached, and overflowed, was Egypt; and that all who dwelt below Elephantine, and drank of the waters of the river, were Egyptians." Such was the answer returned.—The Nile, when full, overflows, not only the Delta, but also other parts of the country, said to belong to Libya and Arabia; in some instances, for two days' journey on either side, more or less.

Concerning the nature of the river, I was unable to obtain any information, whether from the priests or from others: I was very desirous, nevertheless, of ascertaining, through them, the following particulars;—why the Nile fills and overflows, during one hundred days, beginning from the summer solstice; and why, as it approaches to that number of days, it forsakes the fields, and retires to its bed; so that the stream remains, throughout the winter, shallow, until the return of the summer solstice. These were, accordingly, things concerning which I could not get any information whatever from the Egyptians, when I inquired of them what was the reason that the Nile differed so widely in its nature from all other streams. Not only was I anxious to know something about the above particularities, but I also made inquiry wherefore this is the only

river in the world that sends forth no fresh gales blowing from its surface.

Some of the Hellenes, however, desirous of making a display of their wisdom, have proposed three different ways of explaining the phænomena of this river: two of these systems are undeserving of mention, except for the purpose of shewing that such ever existed. One of these asserts, that the etesian gales are the cause of the rise in the river, by impeding the discharge of the Nile into the sea. But, frequently, the etesian winds have not blown, and nevertheless the Nile still presented the same effects: moreover, if the etesian winds were the cause, that cause would act also on the other rivers that flow in a direction opposite to the said winds, and consequently they would undergo the same changes as the Nile itself; indeed, so much the more still, as they are smaller, and their currents not so strong. Now, there are many rivers, both in Syria and Libya, which are not subject to such alterations as the Nile. The next system is indeed less entitled to credit than the above; but more marvellous, to use that expression. It asserts, that the Nile, flowing out of the ocean, is the cause, and that the ocean flows all round the earth.[1] The third explanation is by far the most plausible, but also the most deceptious. This system destroys itself, by affirming that the Nile proceeds from melted snow; for that river flows out of Libya, through Ethiopia, and thence passes into Egypt. How, then, can it come about, that it should flow from snow; coming, as it does, from the hottest quarters into cooler? Many things occur, to a man capable of reasoning on such a subject, to shew why it is not probable this river can come from snow. The first and grand proof is afforded by the winds that blow hot from those regions: the second is, that the soil is never wetted by rain, nor is

[1] This explanation seems to be as follows: the ocean, which the ancients regarded as composed of fresh water, encompasses the earth: when the periodical N.E. or etesian gales blow, a great body of water is driven down towards the S.W. quarter of the ocean, where it opens into the Nile; the consequence is, that the superabundant waters rush into the channel of the river, and cause it to overflow the neighbouring country;—a theory, in truth, savouring highly of the absurd and marvellous.

ice known there: if, however, snow were to fall, rain must necessarily succeed within five days: so that if it snowed, it would likewise rain in these countries. The third proof is, that the men in that country become black, from the burning heat: kites and swallows abide there throughout the year; cranes, flying from the rude climate of the Scythian tract, seek their winter-quarters in this country: if, therefore, ever so little snow were known to fall in these regions, through which the Nile flows, and from which it springs, none of the above things could take place, as necessity demonstrates. As for the person who talks about the ocean, he does not think about proving, but refers his decision to some fable enveloped in the dark: for I never knew of any river, at all events, called the Ocean; but suppose that Homer, or some of the earlier Poets, found the name, and so introduced it into poetry.

But if, after criticising the above opinions, it becomes me to explain my own opinion on these obscure subjects, I will describe what I conceive to be the cause of the Nile's swelling in summer. The sun, driven from his former path by the storms at the winter season, proceeds to the upper parts of Libya. Thus, therefore, to explain as briefly as possible, all is said; for the nearer this god is to any tract of land, there the lack of water will, according to reason, be the greatest, and the native river-streams will be dried up. But, to develope things more in detail, the case is this: the sun, passing through the upper part of Libya, produces the following effect: the atmosphere being at all times clear in those countries, and the ground heated through, in consequence of the absence of cold winds, the sun, in passing over, does just the same as he does to other countries in summer-time, when his path is along the middle of the firmament; that is to say, he draws to himself the water, and scatters it in the higher regions of the air, where the winds take it up, diffuse and dissolve it; so that, as one might reasonably expect, the south and south-west winds, blowing from these quarters, are by far the most rainy of all. It is not, however, my belief that the sun throws away all the annual supply of water from the Nile, but some of it abides round him.[1] The

[1] It was a general opinion, that the sun's food was water.

winter becoming milder, the sun comes back into the middle of the heavens; and from that situation and time, he attracts water equally from all the rivers in the world: until then, those rivers have abundant streams from the admixture of rain-water, the soil being rained upon and torn by torrents; but in summer, the rains no longer pouring down, these rivers become weak, from that cause, as well as from the attraction on the part of the sun: the Nile, however, which receives no rain, and yet is attracted by the sun, is the only river that at these times is shallower than in summer; for in summer it is attracted in the same proportion as all the rest of rivers, whereas in winter it is the only one that is made to contribute. Thus I conclude that the sun is the cause of these things. The same cause, in my opinion, produces the dry air in this country, the sun burning all on its passage: summer, in consequence, ever reigns over the upper parts of Libya. But if the stations of the seasons were to be interchanged, and the quarter of the heavens, where the north and winter now reside, were to be occupied by the south-west and south, and the north took the position of the south; if, I say, such a change were made, the sun, driven away from the middle of the firmament, would pass over to the upper parts of Europe, as it now does to those of Libya. Passing, then, through all Europe, he would, I conceive, produce on the Ister just the same effect as he does now on the Nile. The absence of all breezes from the Nile is accounted for, in my mind, by this reason: that from exceedingly hot countries it is not at all likely any should blow; for such a breeze is wont to proceed from some cool region.

Let these matters, therefore, remain as they were at the beginning. Of all Egyptians, Libyans, and Hellenes, that I ever conversed with, not one professed to know any thing about the sources of the Nile, except the steward of the sacred things in Minerva's temple at Saïs in Egypt; and he, to all appearance, was, at best, only joking me, when he said that he knew perfectly well. His statement was as follows: "Two mountains, rising each to a peak, are situate between the city of Syene in Thebaïs, and Elephantine; the names of these mountains are, one Crophi, the other Mophi. Between these rise the sources of the Nile, which are bottomless:

one-half of the water runs north to Egypt, the other half south to Ethiopia. Psammitichus, king of Egypt, he said, proved, by actual experiment, that the springs are bottomless: he caused a rope, many thousand fathoms long, to be twisted and let down, and it never came to the bottom." Thus, therefore, this steward, if indeed he spoke at all to the fact, induced me, by his description, to infer there were at that place strong eddies and a whirlpool; so that the water buffeting against the rocks, the sounding-line could not find its way to the bottom. Nothing more was I able to get from any person: but with respect to my further research in the most distant part of this river, I went up myself to the city of Elephantine: so far I speak as an eye-witness; beyond that, my account proceeds from what information I collected by hearsay.

As you ascend from Elephantine, the country is very rugged: here your boat must be fastened with a rope on both sides, as you would harness an ox; and thus you proceed: but if the cords snap, the boat is carried off by the force of the current: this sort of country lasts during four days' navigation; in which the Nile winds as much as the Mæander. After this, you will come out into a smooth plain, where the Nile rolls around an island, the name of which is Tachompso: immediately above Elephantine you begin already to meet with resident Ethiopians, and they occupy one-half of the island; the other half is inhabited by Egyptians: close to the island is an extensive lake, round which some Ethiopian nomades rove: after you have crossed this lake, you enter again into the bed of the Nile, which discharges itself therein: you are then to land, and perform a forty days' journey along the river side; as sharp rocks there rise in the Nile, and many shoals occur, which make it impossible to navigate: after you have completed your forty days' land-journey, you embark again in a different boat, and continue your navigation for twelve days, which brings you to a great city, called Meroë. This city, it is said, is the metropolis of the rest of the Ethiopians: its inhabitants worship only Jove and Bacchus among the gods, and these they honour magnificently. They possess an

oracle of Jove; and wage war when and where the god appoints, through his warnings.

Ascending the river above this city, you will reach the Emigrants, in another space of time equal to what you come in from Elephantine to the Ethiopian metropolis. These emigrants are denominated the Asmach; a word that signifies the men that stand on the king's left hand. These two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians, of the war-caste, came over to the Ethiopians from the following motives: under king Psammitichus they were placed in the city of Elephantine, as a defence and guard against the Ethiopians; another party was placed at Daphnæ Pelusiacæ, against the Arabians and Syrians; a third was stationed at Marea, to face Libya; and still, in my day, the garrisons of the Persians were distributed in the same order as they were under Psammitichus; for Persians are garrisoned now at Elephantine and Daphnæ. These Egyptians, therefore, who had been three years on duty, were not relieved by any new garrison: they, in consequence, held council, and unanimously came to a resolution, to secede all from Psammitichus, and go over to Ethiopia. The king, aware of this, pursued the deserters: when he came up with them, he implored them, saying a great deal, and begged them not to forsake their paternal gods, their children, and their wives. One of the deserters is represented to have then displayed his secret parts, and said: "Where that is, we shall find plenty of women and children." When these Egyptians arrived in Ethiopia, they gave themselves up to the king of the Ethiopians: he made this return to them. Certain Ethiopians were opposed to the king: he ordered the Egyptians to drive out these, and take possession of their land. In consequence of their settling among the Ethiopians, that nation became more civilized, learning the Egyptian manners.

For the space of a navigation and journey of four months, the Nile is therefore known, besides that portion of its course that comprises Egypt: such is the number of months that is found in adding up the days spent in going from Elephantine to the country of these emigrants. There the Nile flows from the west and setting sun. Concerning the still higher parts, no one can give any correct account; that country being

desert, by reason of the broiling heat. I have heard, however, the following statement from some natives of Cyrene; who relate, that they went upon a time to the oracle of Ammon, and there had an interview with Etearchus, the king of the Ammonians: and how, after other subjects of conversation, they fell upon a discourse about the Nile—that nobody knew its sources. And that Etearchus said, some Nasamonians came once to visit him:—this nation is Libyan: they occupy the Syrtis, to the east of which they extend for a small distance:—that at the arrival of these visitors, they were asked if they had any fresh information to communicate respecting the deserts of Libya; and they replied, that some daring youths, the sons of powerful men, had grown up among them: these young men, having reached men's estate, devised various extraordinary feats; and among others, was, to choose, by lot, five out of their number, who should go and reconnoitre the deserts of Libya, and try whether they could make any further discoveries than those who had visited the most distant parts.—It must be observed, that in the portion of Libya which stretches along the Mediterranean sea, beginning from Egypt, and reaching to Cape Soloïs, which is the extremity of Libya, the whole country is occupied by Libyans, divided into various nations; excepting, however, the territories occupied by the Hellenes and Phœnicians. In the parts above the sea-shore, and higher up than the inhabitants of the coast, Libya is infested with wild beasts: above the wild-beast tract, all is sand, dreadfully scant of water, and wholly uninhabited.

"Accordingly, the young men deputed by their companions, well provided with water and provisions, had passed first through the inhabited country; then came to the tract infested with wild beasts; and, crossing over to the desert, commenced their journey towards the west. After going over much sandy ground, in a march of many days, they at last saw some trees, growing in a plain. They went up to them, and plucked the fruit that hung from the branches: but, while they were thus occupied in gathering the fruit, some diminutive men, less than the common standard, laid hold of them, and carried them off. The Nasamonians did not

understand the language of these people, nor did the conductors understand that of the Nasamonians. They were accordingly taken through some vast morasses; after which, they came to a town where all the inhabitants were of the same size as their conductors, and black in colour. A great river flowed by the town, in which crocodiles were seen."—So far, then, I have reported the discourse of Etearchus the Ammonian prince; except that, according to the Cyrenæans, "he said, the Nasamonians returned; and that the people they thus came to, were all necromancers." With respect to this river flowing by the town, Etearchus conjectured it to be the Nile; indeed, reason shews that it is so: for the Nile flows out of Libya, and divides that country; and (as I assume, inferring the unknown by the known) proceeds parallel to the Ister.

The Ister is a river that, rising in the country of the Celts, and at the town of Pyrene, flows, dividing the whole of Europe. The Celts are outside the pillars of Hercules; they confine on the Cynesians, who inhabit the most western parts of all the Europeans. The Ister ends by flowing through Europe into the Euxine sea, at the spot where stands the Milesian settlement of Istria. The Ister therefore runs through inhabited lands, and is known to many; while no one can say any thing about the sources of the Nile; because Libya, through which it flows, is both uninhabited and desert: as far as it was possible to carry inquiry, it has been described. Near its end, it enters Egypt: that country lies almost opposite Cilicia Montana: from this latter to Sinope, on the Euxine sea, is a straight road, five days' journey for a speed-courier on foot. Now Sinope lies exactly opposite to the place where the Ister falls into the sea: so that I consider that the Nile, crossing the whole of Libya, extends to the same length as the Ister.—So much then for the Nile.

I am now going to extend my account of Egypt; because it possesses more wonders, and exhibits more curiosities, beyond the powers of description, than any other country in the world; and for that reason, more must be said about it. The Egyptians not only have a climate peculiar to themselves, and a river differing in its nature from all other rivers: they have also many customs and usages wholly opposite to those of

other men. Among them, the women go to market, and deal; but the men stay at home, and weave: in weaving, other nations throw the woof up the warf, but the Egyptians throw it down: the men carry burthens on their heads, the women on their shoulders: the women stand erect when they discharge their urine, the men crouch down: they eat out of doors; but satisfy the other wants of nature within their houses, alleging, that what is unseemly, but necessary, should be done in secret; but what is not unseemly, in open view: no woman can serve the holy office, either for god or goddess; but men can for both: no necessity compels sons to support their parents, unless they choose: the daughters are compelled to do so, even against their will. The priests of the gods elsewhere wear long hair; but in Egypt they have it shorn: in other nations, it is customary, in mourning, for the nearest connexions to shave their heads; the Egyptians, in case of death, suffer their hair to grow: with other nations, also, it is the practice to live separate from their cattle; with the Egyptians, it is the contrary; they live together with their domestic animals. The food of most others consists of wheat and barley: among the Egyptians, every one is held very infamous that does so; and all make their bread of spelt. They knead the dough with their feet, but pick up dung and filth with their hands. All nations leave their private parts as they are; except such as have learnt otherwise from the Egyptians, who are circumcised. Every man wears two garments; every woman one. Other people fasten outside the rings and sheets of sails; the Egyptians fasten them inside: they write letters, and sum numbers with pebbles, from right to left; and, in so doing, say they go right-ways, and the Hellenes left-ways. They have two sorts of letters; one sort called the sacred, the other demotic.

They are the most exceedingly devout of all men, and follow the practices here stated. They drink from brass mugs, which they scour out every day without exception; and wear cotton garments, constantly fresh-washed, attending to this most carefully. They circumcise themselves from motives of cleanliness, deeming it better to be clean than handsome. The priests shave their whole bodies every third day, in order

that no louse or any other vermin may be found upon them when attending upon the gods: the priests also wear nothing but cotton, and shoes of byblus:[1] no other garments or shoes are they allowed to wear. They wash themselves twice every day in cold water, and twice every night; and observe ten thousand other ceremonies, to use the expression. But, on the other hand, they enjoy no slight advantages; they consume none of their private property; are exposed to no expense; sacred bread is baked for them; a good supply of beef and geese is furnished to each every day; and wine from the grape[2] is allowed them: fish they must not touch. As for beans, the Egyptians not only refrain from sowing them on their land, and also from eating raw those that come up spontaneously, but will not taste them, even when boiled: the priests, especially, abhor the sight of that vegetable, regarding it as an impure husk. Every one of the gods is attended, not by one, but by several priests, over whom is a rector; and whenever a priest dies, his son succeeds. The pure male kine are held sacred to Epaphus; and, on that account, they ascertain which are so, in the following manner: if the examiner descry even one black hair, the animal is deemed impure. One of the priests appointed to the office examines the steer, both when standing, and when lying on the back: he pulls out his tongue, and sees whether it is pure of the prescribed marks, which I shall mention elsewhere: he looks at the hairs of the tail, whether they grow naturally. If the steer is pure in all these respects, he puts a mark on him, by twisting a piece of byblus round the horns, and spreading some sealing-earth, which he stamps with his signet, and then drives him away. He who sacrifices an unmarked victim is punished with death. Such is the mode of ascertaining the purity of the victim.

Their manner of sacrificing is this: they lead the animal, properly marked, to the altar, where they are going to sacrifice, and kindle fire: this done, they pour wine on the altar, and invoke the god; then slaughter the steer, and cut off the head. They next flay the animal's body; and having pro-

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[1] The interior bark of the papyrus.

[2] In contradistinction of barley-wine or beer.

nounced many imprecations on the head, those who have a market-square, and among whom many Hellenic merchants reside, carry it to that market, and accordingly dispose of it: those that have no Hellenes resident among them cast the head into the river. The imprecations they pronounce on the heads are in these words:—"Whatever evil is about to fall on the sacrificer himself, or on the whole of Egypt, may it be diverted upon this head." In respect to the heads of the slaughtered animals, and the libations of wine, the Egyptians universally practise the same ceremonies alike in all sacrifices: and in consequence of this custom, no Egyptian will ever taste of the head of any animal. The disembowelling and burning are variously performed, in various sacrifices. I will describe, therefore, the practice for the deity whom they consider the greatest, and in whose honour they celebrate the most magnificent festival. After they have stript off the skin of the steer, with prayer, they take out all the intestines of the belly, leaving in the body the heart, liver and lights, together with the fat: they then cut off the legs and the extremity of the hind-quarter, with that of the fore-quarter and neck. After they have done this, they fill the body of the steer with white bread, honey, raisins, figs, incense and myrrh, together with other perfumes: having thus stuffed the belly, they burn it, pouring out abundance of oil. This sacrifice they perform fasting; and while the holy things are being consumed, they all beat their breasts: when they have ceased this, they spread, as food, what remains of the victims.

All Egyptians, therefore, sacrifice pure male kine and calves: they are not allowed, however, to sacrifice cows, which are sacred to Isis: for the image of Isis is a woman's figure with cows' horns, the same as the Hellenes depict Io. All Egyptians alike have even a much greater veneration for cows than for any other cattle; that is the reason that no Egyptian man or woman will hardly kiss an Hellenic man on the lips, or make use of an Hellene's knife, or spit, or saucepan; nor will they taste of the flesh of a pure ox which has been carved by an Hellenic knife. The kine that die are buried in the following manner: the females are thrown into the river: the males are put underground, by each proprietor, in the suburbs:

leaving above the surface one or both horns, as a mark. After the body has rotted away, and when a certain time has elapsed, a barge, from the island of Prosopitis, comes to each city:—this island is situated in the Delta; it is nine schœni in circumference, within which are several cities, but especially one from which a great number of the barges come that collect the skeletons of the oxen: the name of this town is Atarbechis, where a temple to Venus has been erected:—from this town, accordingly, many persons go to different places, dig up the bones, convey them away, and bury them all in one place. In the same manner as the oxen, they bury all other cattle that die: such is their custom; for the Egyptians kill none of these.

Those who belong to the temple built to Theban Jove, or are of the Theban nome, refrain all from sheep, and sacrifice goats; for all Egyptians do not worship the same gods alike, excepting Isis and Osiris, whom they accordingly call Bacchus: these they all worship alike. But those who belong to the temple of Mendes, or the Mendesian nome, refrain from goats, and sacrifice sheep. The Thebans therefore, and such as refrain from sheep after their example, account for that usage in the following manner: "that Hercules was exceedingly desirous of seeing Jupiter, and Jupiter did not wish to be seen by him: as Hercules persisted, Jupiter devised this: he skinned a ram; cut off the head, which he held before him; then wrapped himself in the fleece; and so exhibited himself to Hercules." In consequence of this, the Egyptians make the image of Jupiter in the shape of a ram-face: and from the Egyptians the same practice has been taken by the Ammonians, who are descendants from the Egyptians, and speak a language between that of both those nations: in my opinion, the Ammonians took also their name from this circumstance, as the Egyptian word for Jupiter is Amoun. The Thebans do not, for this reason, sacrifice rams, but hold them sacred; except on one day only in the year, the festival of Jupiter, when they slaughter a ram, skin him, and wrap the fleece around the image of Jupiter; they then bring another image alongside of it, that of Hercules: having so done, the worshippers, assembled in the temple, beat their bosoms all in

mourning for the ram, and afterwards bury him in a holy crypt.

By the account given me of this Hercules, he is one of the twelve gods: concerning the other Hercules, known among the Hellenes, I was no where able to hear any thing about him in Egypt. And, indeed, I have many different proofs, to demonstrate that, at all events, the Egyptians did not adopt from the Hellenes the name of their Hercules, but rather that the Hellenes adopted it from the Egyptians; those Hellenes, I mean, who imposed the name on Amphitryon's son: for instance, this is one; that Amphitryon and Alcmene were of Egyptian origin; and because the Egyptians say that they are ignorant of the names of Neptune and the Dioscuri, and never admitted them among their other gods;—now it is certain, that if they had admitted the name of any deity from the Hellenes, they must, at all events, have thought of them the first, not the last; for even in those days the Egyptians made some voyages, and there existed Hellenic sailors; and I myself have every reason to think that the Egyptians would have been acquainted with the names of the above gods long before they heard of Hercules. But the Hercules of the Egyptians is one of their ancient gods; and, according to their statement, it was seven thousand years prior to Amasis's reign, when from the eight gods came twelve gods, of whom they regard Hercules as one. Anxious to get authentic information from whence I could obtain it, I undertook a voyage to Tyre in Phœnicia, where I had heard there was a temple of Hercules much venerated; and I saw that sacred edifice richly stored with various and numerous offerings; and in the inside stood two pillars, one of pure gold, the other of emerald stone,[1] which shone brilliantly at nights. I entered into conversation with the priests of the god, and inquired of them how long it was since the temple was erected; and I found that they also differed from the Hellenes, as the priests gave for answer, that the temple of the god was built at the same time Tyre itself was; and that from the building of Tyre it was two thousand and three hundred years. I saw also another tem-

[1] Perhaps green glass.

ple, at Tyre, to Hercules, with the cognomen of Thasian: to Thasos therefore I proceeded, where I found a temple of Hercules, built by the Phœnicians, who, navigating in search of Europa, laid the foundation of Thasos; an event that occurred five generations of men before the Hercules son of Amphitryon was born in Hellas. The result, therefore, of these researches makes it clear, beyond all doubt, that Hercules was an ancient god; and those Hellenes appear to me to act the most properly, who have erected two sorts of Heracleum; one for the original Hercules, to whom they offer sacrifice, as immortal, and under the name of Olympian Hercules; the other, for him to whom they give honours as to the hero.

But the Hellenes relate many other things thoughtlessly: this for instance, is a silly fable they tell of Hercules; that, "on his arrival in Egypt, the inhabitants crowned him, and took him in procession to be sacrificed to Jupiter; that for some time Hercules kept quiet; but when, at the altar, they began the sacrific solemnities, he exerted his strength, and slew them every one."

Now, such people as say this sort of things strike me to be totally unacquainted with the nature and the customs of the Egyptians; for with that people it is not lawful to sacrifice even cattle, excepting sheep, and such steers and calves as happen to be pure: I must add geese also: how could they, then, sacrifice human beings? Besides, Hercules was but one, and, as yet, no more than a man: how could he, then, as they say, have the power to slay many thousands? Be mercy shewn, at the hands both of gods and heroes, to us, that say such things about them!

But, as to the reason why the above Egyptians do not sacrifice bucks or goats, the Mendesians think that Pan was one of the eight original gods: these eight gods, they say, existed prior to the twelve gods; and, accordingly, like the Hellenic painters and statuaries, they represent the images of Pan with a goat's face and buck's legs: they do not, however, fancy that Pan is such, but consider him similar to the other gods: for what purpose they represent him in this way it is not easy for me to explain. But the Mendesians venerate all goats, and the males more than the females; and, with

them, goat-herds are held in great honour; one especially, among the bucks; who, when he dies, is deeply mourned, according to custom, every where, by the Mendesian. The buck, likewise, is called Mendes in Egyptian; and so is Pan, the god.

In my time, a prodigy occurred in this nome; a buck had connexion with a woman in open day, which came under the observation of all persons. The pig is considered, by Egyptians, as an unclean animal: in the first place, if any one passing by a pig should touch the beast with his garments, he forthwith goes down to the river and plunges in [with all his clothes on]: secondly, the swine-herds, although native Egyptians, are the only people of the country that never enter a temple; nor will any person give one of them his daughter in marriage; nor will he take a wife from among them: but the swine-herds take and give in marriage among themselves. The Egyptians, therefore, dare not offer swine to any other gods than Diana (the Moon) and Bacchus: to whom, at the same time, that is to say, at the same full moon, they sacrifice pigs, and afterwards eat of the flesh. Why they abhor pigs at every other festival, and sacrifice them at that one, is accounted for by Egyptians: although I am aware what the reason is, it is more becoming I should say nothing about it.

This sacrifice to the Moon is thus performed: after the sacrificer has slaughtered the victim, he puts together the tip of the tail, the milt, and the caul; then covers them with all the fat found upon the belly of the animal: this is afterwards consumed by fire. The remainder of the flesh is eaten during the full moon in which the sacrifice is offered up: on no other day would it hardly be even tasted. The poor people among them, from their want of means, make pigs of dough, which they bake and offer up as sacrifice. On the eve of the festival of Bacchus, every one slaughters before his door a young pig; and then returns the victim to the swine-herd who supplied it, that he may carry it away. The rest of the festival, with the exception of the pigs, is celebrated by the Egyptians, in almost all its details, after the same manner as by the Hellenes: in the place of phalli, is substituted an

invention of their own; images about a cubit in height, moved by springs, which are paraded about the towns and villages by the women; the member scarcely any smaller than the whole body, nodding continually: a piper heads the procession; and the women follow, singing the praises of Bacchus. A religious reason is assigned for the member being so disproportionate, and for its being the only part of the body that moves.

I presume, therefore, that even in those early times Melampus the son of Amythaon, far from being ignorant of this mode of sacrifice, was perfectly acquainted with the usage: for Melampus was the person who introduced among the Hellenes the name of Bacchus, his ceremonies, and the procession of the phallus. He did not, however, lay open the whole; but the sages that followed him have given more copious explanations. Melampus, therefore, was the institutor of the procession of the phallus to Bacchus; and from him the Hellenes learned to do as they now do. For my part, I am of opinion that Melampus, a wise man, endowed with the gift of prophecy, in consequence of information obtained from Egypt, introduced various things among the Hellenes, and more particularly, with some slight alterations, the worship of Bacchus; for I can by no means allow that the ceremonies performed in honor of Bacchus, both in Egypt and among the Hellenes, should so coincide by chance; in which case they would be consonant to Hellenic customs, and not have been so lately introduced: neither can I admit that the Egyptians borrowed either this practice from the Hellenes, or any other usage. My opinion is, that Melampus obtained most of his information respecting Bacchus from Cadmus the Tyrian, and from his followers out of Phœnicia into the country now called Bœotia.

Nearly all the names of the gods came from Egypt to Hellas: for I am convinced, by my own inquiries, that they must have proceeded from some people not of Hellenic race: accordingly, I think they came, for the most part, from Egypt. Indeed, with the exception of Neptune and the Dioscuri, as I before observed, and of Juno, Vesta, Themis, the Graces, and Nereïds, the names of all the other gods have for ever been in existence among the Egyptians: this I say from the

authority of the Egyptians themselves. As to those names which they are not acquainted with, they were, I have no doubt, inventions of the Pelasgians: Neptune, however, must be excepted; which god the Hellenes borrowed from the Libyans; for none but Libyans originally possessed the name of Neptune, a god whom they have always worshipped.

The Egyptians have no ceremonies instituted in honour of heroes. The above, therefore, and several other things likewise, which I shall by and by explain, have been adopted by the Hellenes from the Egyptians. As to the practice of representing the images of Mercury with the member erect, that was not learned from the Egyptians, but from the Pelasgians: the first of all the Hellenes that adopted this custom were the Athenians, whose example the rest followed; for the Pelasgians were neighbours of the Athenians, at that time already reckoned Hellenes: and from thence the Hellenes first took this practice. Whoever has been initiated in the mysteries of the Cabiri, which the people of Samothrace have adopted from the Pelasgians and now celebrate, will know what I mean; for these Pelasgians who had previously been the neighbours of the Athenians, dwelt, of old, in Samothrace; and from them the Samothracians adopted the mysteries. The Athenians were accordingly the first of the Hellenes that, borrowing the custom from the Pelasgians, made their images of Mercury with the member erect: for which the Pelasgians assigned a sacred reason, explained in the mysteries at Samothrace.

Originally, the Pelasgi sacrificed all kinds of victims, and offered prayers to the gods (such was the information I obtained at Dodona); but attached no name, or cognomen, to any one of those gods; for as yet they had never heard of any. They called them *gods* on this account, that they had arranged and distributed all things with such order. After a long time had intervened, they became acquainted with the names of all the gods imported from Egypt; except that of Bacchus, which they heard of at a later period. Soon after, they consulted the oracle at Dodona concerning the names:—that oracle is deemed the most ancient of all in Hellas, and was, at the time we are speaking of, the only one:—the Pelasgians, therefore, having consulted the Dodonæan oracle, "whether

they were to adopt the names coming from abroad;" the oracle gave the answer, "to adopt them." From that period, they made use of the names of the gods, in their devotions; a practice imitated some time later, from the Pelasgians, by the Hellenes. As to whence each of the gods sprung; whether they had all existed from eternity; what they were, as to form; such things were only known of yesterday, or the day before, to use a trivial expression: for I consider Homer and Hesiod older than myself by four hundred years, certainly not more: they were the poets that framed the Hellenic theogony, gave distinctive names to the gods, distributed among them honours and professions, and pointed out their respective forms. The poets said to have flourished before the above two were, it is my belief, really posterior to them. My authority for the assertions in the first part of these statements is the Dodonæan priestesses: it is on my own authority I speak of Hesiod and Homer.

Concerning the two oracles, that of the Hellenes, and the other in Libya, the following account is given by the Egyptians. The priests of Thebæan Jupiter assert, "That two consecrated women were carried off by Phœnicians; that, it was ascertained, one of them was sold, to be taken into Libya; the other was disposed of to the Hellenes: that these women were the original foundresses of the oracles, in the said nations." I asked, how they could know so positively that this was the case: to which their reply was: "that diligent search was made by them after those women; but they were unable to find them; and were subsequently made acquainted with what they had accordingly stated concerning the two women." Such, therefore, was the account I heard from the priests at Thebes: the following, however, is stated by the women that pronounce the oracles at Dodona. "Two black doves flew away from Thebes in Egypt: one reached Libya; the other directed her flight to them. That the dove perched in an oak-tree, and, with human voice, proclaimed, it behoved an oracle of Jove should be there established. They took this to be a divine token to them, and did accordingly.—They add, that the other dove arrived in Libya, and ordered the Libyans to found the oracle of Ammon," which is also one of Jupiter's.

The priestesses of Dodona said the same; both the eldest, named Promenia, and the juniors, called Timarete, and Nicandra: and all the Dodonæan people belonging to the holy precinct agreed with them. My opinion of these things is, that if it was true that the Phœnicians did carry off the consecrated women, and that they were sold, one into Libya, and the other into Hellas, I presume that the latter was disposed of to some people of Thesprotia, now a part of Hellas, previously called Pelasgia; and that, reduced to slavery, she erected a temple to Jupiter under a green oak; as it was natural for a servant in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes to think of the place from which she came: and from this arose the oracle, when the woman had attained a knowledge of the Hellenic language; and the report originated with her, that her sister had been sold in the same manner by the Phœnicians, to go into Libya. I presume, likewise, that the women were called doves by the people of Dodona; for this reason, that they were foreigners, and appeared to them to chatter like birds: after a time, they say, the dove spoke with human voice; that was, when the woman began to speak intelligibly: so long as she spoke a foreign tongue, they imagined she chattered as a bird; but how could a dove, of all things, speak like a human being? By saying that the bird was black, they give us to understand the woman was an Egyptian. The oracle at Thebes of Egypt, and that at Dodona, resemble each other very closely.—The practice of divination by the victims in temples came likewise from Egypt.

Festive congregations, processions, and thanksgivings to the gods were first introduced by the Egyptians, from whom the Hellenes learned the same practices: the early adoption of these rites by the Egyptians, and their comparatively modern establishment among the Hellenes, afford sufficient proof of my assertion. The Egyptians have festive meetings more than once in every year: the greatest and the most rigidly-observed festival is that of Diana, at Bubastis; the second, that of Isis, at Busiris: the largest temple of Isis is in this town, which stands in the centre of the Egyptian Delta: Isis, when translated, signifies Ceres. The third festival is celebrated at Saïs, in honour of Minerva; the fourth at Heliopolis, to the

Sun; the fifth at Buto, in honour of Latona; the sixth at Papremis, to Mars. Those, accordingly, who come by water to Bubastis act in the following manner. Men and women embark together; vast numbers of both sexes are seen in every barge: some of the women have rattles, with which they make a noise, some of the men also play on the fife, in every boat: the rest of the women and men sing, and clap their hands. When, in their progress, they arrive at any town, they push their bark to land; where some of the women do as I have described, while others scoff and scream at the women belonging to the place: some also dance; while others, standing forth, pull up their clothes and exhibit their persons. The same thing takes place at every town on the river-side: and when they have reached Bubastis, they celebrate the feast, and offer up great sacrifices: more grape-wine is consumed at this feast than in all the rest of the year besides. The congregated multitude of men and women, without reckoning the children, amounts, the people of Bubastis say, to seven hundred thousand.

In what manner the feast of Isis is kept at Busiris has been already described by me: there, accordingly, after the sacrifice, all the men and women, to the amount of many myriads, beat themselves on the breast, to the honour of whom I am not at liberty to divulge. The Carians that are settled in Egypt carry their zeal still farther, inasmuch as they slash their faces with their knives; shewing thus, that they are not Egyptians, but foreigners. At Saïs, after the people have collected to be present at the sacrifices, all the inhabitants, on a certain night, kindle a great number of lamps, in the open air, around their houses: the lamps are small flat saucers filled with salt and oil, on the surface of which floats a wick that burns through the whole night; and hence the feast is called the lighting up of lamps. The Egyptians who cannot join this festive congregation observe the night of sacrifice, and every one lights up lamps; so that the illumination is not confined to Saïs alone, but extends all over Egypt. A religious reason is assigned for this night being so honoured, and the illumination that accompanies it. At Heliopolis and Buto the people come merely, and attend the sacrifices: but at Papremis, not

only are the sacrifices offered up, and the holy ceremonies performed, as in the other towns, but, about sunset, a few of the priests are employed about the image, while the greater part, armed with bludgeons, stand in the portal of the sacred edifice: other men, determined to accomplish certain vows they have made, and more than a thousand strong, each provided also with a bludgeon, stand in a mass opposite: (the image, placed in a small wooden chapel, all gilt, is conveyed the day before to some other holy sojourn:) the few left about the image drag a four-wheel vehicle, with the chapel containing the image: the priests stationed in the portal refuse admittance: the devotees, rushing to the assistance of the god, fall on the opponents with their bludgeons: then begins a furious struggle with clubs: they break one another's heads, and many must, I conceive, die of their wounds, although the Egyptians themselves deny that this ever is the case. The people of Papremis assert, that the reason for thus celebrating the feast is this: that the mother of Mars resided in the temple; her son, educated at some distant spot, having come to manhood, wished to pay a visit to his mother; but the attendants, who had never before seen him, refused him admittance, and drove him away. Mars therefore collecting men from the other part of the city, handled the servants very severely, and forced an entrance to his mother. In consequence of that event they declare that this sort of combat is instituted on his festival.

The Egyptians were also the first to establish the custom, that all communication with women in the sacred places should be prohibited, and that men who had been connected with females should not enter the temples unwashed. For with nearly all nations, except the Egyptians and Hellenes, men may either sleep with women within the sacred edifice, or, rising from a female partner, enter the temple unwashed. These people put mankind on a level with the brute creation; for, say they, other animals and various birds are seen coupling in the shrines, temples, and sacred precincts; and, consequently, if this was displeasing to the god, the brute creatures even would not do it. The persons that endeavour to excuse, by such reasoning, the above behaviour, do not by any means meet with my approbation. The Egyptians observe, with

scrupulous care, all religious ordinances, and especially the above mentioned.

Although Egypt confines on Libya, it is not very abundant in animals: those found in this country are all held to be sacred, whether domesticated by men or otherwise. Were I to mention the reasons why they are considered holy, I should be descending in my narrative to religious matters, which I wish, above all things, to avoid: even the few I have superficially spoken of, were mentioned from necessity. The practice with the Egyptians, in respect of animals, is this: curators are appointed for feeding every kind separately: they are Egyptian men and women: and the son inherits the dignity of his father.

The inhabitants of cities acquit themselves in the following manner of the vows they have made to the gods: when they pray to the god to whom the animal may be consecrated, they shave either the whole heads of their children, or the half, or the third only of their heads: they weigh the hair in scales against silver: whatever that weight may be, they give it to the curator of the animals; in return for which, she cuts up some fish, and gives it as food to them: such, accordingly, is the appointed mode of feeding them. Whoever kills one of these animals, if wilfully, the punishment is death: if accidentally, the culprit is bound to pay what fine the priests may impose: it is understood, however, that he who kills an ibis or a vulture, whether wittingly or unwittingly, must necessarily be put to death.

Although the domesticated animals are numerous, their numbers would be still greater, were it not for what takes place with the cats. When the females have littered, they no longer seek the company of the males, who, finding it impossible to gratify their desires at that time, have recourse, in consequence, to this artifice: they take away, secretly, the kittens from the females, and, carrying them off, kill them: in so doing, however, the males do not devour the young. The female cats, deprived of their kittens, and desirous of others, seek again the company of the males; for the cat is much attached to her offspring. When a fire occurs, a surprising prodigy takes place among the cats: for the Egyptians, not heeding the conflagration, stand at some distance, and give their whole

attention to the cats: those animals however slip between, and leap over the ranks of men, to rush into the fire: at this, great sorrow takes possession of the Egyptian. When a cat dies, in a house, of a natural death, the inmates all shave their eyebrows: but those with whom a dog dies, shave the whole body, together with the head. The deceased cats are carried to Bubastis, where they are embalmed, and buried in holy vaults.

As for the dogs, all that die are buried in sacred cells, by the respective persons to whom they belonged, and in their own towns. The ichneumons[1] are buried in the same manner as the dogs: but shrew-mice and vultures are taken to Buto; the ibises to Hermopolis; the bears, which are not very abundant, and the wolves,[2] not much larger than foxes, are buried wherever their carcases may be found.

The following is a description of the crocodile. During the four winter months he eats nothing: he is four-footed, and amphibious: this animal is oviparous: the female lays her eggs in the ground, and there leaves them. The crocodile passes the greater part of the day on the dry land; but the whole night in the water, because at that time the water is at a higher temperature than the atmosphere or the dew. Of all living things we are acquainted with, the crocodile is that which, from the smallest, grows to be the largest; for the crocodile's egg is not much larger than that of the goose; and the newly-hatched animal is proportioned to the egg he comes from, but gradually increases in size, till he reaches a length of seventeen cubits, and even still more. He has the eyes of a pig; large teeth and tusks in proportion to his body: is the only animal that has no tongue; the only animal, also, that does not move the lower jaw, but brings the upper jaw down to the lower. He is armed with strong claws; his skin cov-

[1] This animal is found both in Upper and Lower Egypt. It creeps slowly along, as if ready to seize its prey: it feeds on plants, eggs, and fowls. In Upper Egypt, it searches for the eggs of the crocodile, which lie hid in the sand and eats them, thereby preventing the increase of that animal. It may be easily tamed, and goes about the houses like a cat. It makes a growling noise, and barks when it is very angry.

[2] Perhaps jackals.

ered with scales, impenetrable on the back: blind in the water, exceedingly quick-sighted on land: passing so much of his time in the water, the inside of his mouth is always beset with leeches. All other beasts and fowls fly before him; but he is at peace with one sort of water-bird, called the trochilus, which assists him greatly; for when he gets out of the river on land, and opens his jaws (which he is wont always to do towards the west), the trochilus enters his mouth, and devours the leeches. The crocodile is grateful for this service, and does no harm to the bird. The crocodile, therefore, is sacred with some Egyptians: by others, far from being sacred, he is pursued as an enemy. The people residing about Thebes and Lake Mœris consider the crocodiles to be highly sacred: each of these people feeds one crocodile in particular, brought up so tame as to allow himself to be handled: they put in his ears, crystal and gold gems; bracelets on his fore paws; and give him appointed and sacred provisions, and treat him handsomely while he is alive; when dead, they embalm him, and inter him in a holy cell. The people at Elephantine, and the environs, eat these reptiles, conceiving them far from sacred.

These animals are not in Egyptian called crocodiles, but 'champsæ:' the Ionians have given them the former name, from an idea of their resemblance in shape to the lizards, or newts of the hedges, which they thus denominate. The modes of catching them are many and various: that which accordingly appears to me at least the most deserving of description, I shall describe. They bait a hook with the chine of a pig, and let it down the middle of the stream: the fisherman holds, on the bank of the river, a live hog, which he beats: the crocodile, hearing the squeaks, comes to the sound, and, meeting with the chine, gorges the bait. The men now haul him in; and, when the animal is drawn up on the land, the first thing the fisherman does is to plaster his eyes over with mud: this being done, the rest is easily effected: so long as this remains undone, the difficulties are great. The hippopotamus, also, is held sacred in the nome of Papremis, but not so by the rest of the Egyptians. This animal may be thus described: he is a quadruped; his foot is armed with claws; his hoof is that of the ox: he has a pug-nose, and a horse's neck; jutting teeth;

the tail and the neigh of a horse. His size is that of the largest sort of oxen; and his hide is so tough, that, when dry, javelins are made from it. Otters, likewise, are met with in the Nile: they hold them to be sacred, as well as, among fish, the lepidotus and eel: they affirm that the above sacred animals are the property of the Nile: and so, among birds, the fox-goose.

There is another sacred bird, called the 'phœnix;' which I myself never saw, except in a picture; for it seldom makes its appearance among them; only every five hundred years, according to the people of Heliopolis. They state, that he comes on the death of his sire: if at all like his picture, this bird may be thus described, in size and shape. Some of his feathers are of the colour of gold; others are red. In outline, he is exceedingly similar to the eagle, and in size also. This bird is said to display an ingenuity, which to me does not appear credible: he is represented as coming out of Arabia, and bringing with him his father to the temple of the Sun, embalmed in myrrh, and there burying him. The manner in which this is done, is as follows:—In the first place, he sticks together an egg of myrrh, as much as he can carry, and then tries if he can bear the burden: this experiment achieved, he accordingly scoops out the egg, sufficiently to deposit his sire within; he next fills with fresh myrrh the opening in the egg by which the body was enclosed: thus the whole mass, containing the carcase, is still of the same weight. Having thus completed the embalming, he transports him into Egypt, and to the temple of the Sun.

In the vicinity of Thebes, a kind of serpents are sacred, that never do any harm to men. They are diminutive in size; and carry two horns, springing from the crown of the head. All these serpents, that die, they bury in the temple of Jupiter, to whom it is said these reptiles are consecrated. But close to the environs of Buto, there is a spot belonging to Arabia; which I visited, in consequence of information I received concerning some winged serpents. On my arrival there, I beheld such quantities of prickly bones as it would be impossible to describe: there were heaps of these spinal bones, some large, others small, others again still smaller: all in great quantities. The spot where the bones are accumulated, may be thus de-

scribed: it is a gorge, between two steep mountains, and leads to a wide plain, which is connected with the Egyptian plain. And report says, that, with the spring, the winged serpents fly out of Arabia, towards Egypt; but the ibis, a sort of bird, takes his post at the defile, opposes the passage of the serpents, and destroys them. For this service, the Egyptians, according to the Arabians, give great honours to the ibis; and the Egyptians themselves confess that such is their motive for honouring these birds. The following is the description of the ibis. He is all of a deep black; his legs are like the crane's; his bill is strongly curved; his size that of the crex: such is the description of the black ibis, the champion that fights against the serpents. The other sort (for there are two kinds of ibis), more frequently met with, are naked on part of the head and the whole of the neck: the plumage is white, excepting the few feathers on the head and throat, on the tips of the wings, and the extremity of the tail, all of which are jet black. The legs and bill are similar to the other species. The winged-serpent is similar in shape to the water-snake: his wings are not covered with feathers, but completely similar to those of the bat.—So much for the description of the sacred animals.

Of the Egyptians with whom I have had an opportunity to be acquainted, those inhabiting the arable parts of Egypt are the most distinguished of the world in their exertions to preserve the memory of events, and, beyond all doubt, the most skilful historians. As to their mode of diet, they take purgatives three successive days in every month; and look for health by means of emetics and clysters; being convinced that all the diseases incident to man have their origin in the food that he takes.

In fact, next to the Libyans, the Egyptians are the most healthy in the world; an advantage, I think, to be attributed to the seasons, which are always the same; for disease most frequently attacks the human frame at the changes of the seasons. They are eaters of bread in the form of spelt loaves, which they call 'cyllestis.' They make use of wine, brewed from barley; for their soil produces none from the grape. They live on fish, raw, but sun-dried, or steeped in brine: they eat also raw quails and ducks, and the

smaller birds, salted beforehand; and all the rest boiled or roasted; but refrain from the birds and fishes which are regarded as sacred. In the wealthier classes of society, and at their convivial banquets, a man carries round a wooden image of a dead body, exactly carved and painted to represent a corpse, although in its whole height not more than one or two cubits. The person, that shews it round, says: "Look on this; drink and be jovial; for when you are dead, such will you be." This is their mode of managing their feasts.

They have their own national airs, and adopt none others: among various compositions highly deserving of praise, there is, more especially, one song, which is sung in Phœnicia and Cyprus, and in other places; it bears different names in different nations, but coincides with what the Hellenes call Linus, and which they sing. Among the many wonderful things that I have observed in the Egyptians, this is one, Whence did they get the Linus?[1] They have apparently sung it from time immemorial. The Linus is called, in Egyptian, Maneros. The Egyptians represent, that Maneros was the only-begotten son of the first king of Egypt; and that, on the occasion of his untimely death, he was honoured with these mournful strains by the people: and this lay was the first and only one they had in early times. In the next following particular, the Egyptians assimilate to none of the Hellenes, except the Lacedæmonians. The young people, meeting their elders, give way, and turn out of their path; and, at their approach, rise up from their seats. The following custom, however, is not known to any Hellenic nation whatever: instead of accosting one another in words on the ways, they salute by sinking the hand to the knee. They wear cotton under-garments, with fringes about the legs, and call them 'calasiris:' over these they throw mantles of white flannel; but they take no woollen clothing whatever into their temple, nor do they use shrouds of wool for the dead: that would be contrary to law. In this respect they agree with the Orphic

[1] *Linus,* a hero, the son of Urania, on whose fate the Greeks had a song, which was frequently chaunted at their feasts, and was called *Linus* (see volume one, page 7).

and Bacchic rites, which are the same as the Egyptian and Pythagorean: in the above mysteries, none of the initiated is allowed to be buried in winding-sheets of wool. For which institutions, a religious reason is assigned.

These again are inventions made by the Egyptians: Every month, and every day, is consecrated to one of the gods; and, according to the birth-day of any person, is determined what shall befal him, how he shall end his days, and what will become of him. The Hellenic Poets have made use of this science: they have found out more signs and tokens than all the rest of mankind put together; for whenever any prodigy occurs, they observe and note down, in writing, the result; and if at any time a nearly similar thing should happen, they conclude that the same result will ensue. In respect of divination, the following practice holds: The art is vouchsafed to no mortal man, but to some of the gods. Accordingly, there are oracles of Hercules, of Apollo, Minerva, Diana, Mars, and Jupiter; together with that of the greatest repute, the oracle of Latona at Buto. The practice of medcine is thus distributed among them: Every physician confines himself to one disease only, no more: all places abound in doctors: some are doctors for the eyes; others respectively for the head; teeth; and for the belly, and the parts about it, for the inward disorders.

Their mode of mourning and performing funeral ceremonies is this: At the death of any person of distinction belonging to the family, all the females of the house accordingly daub their heads and faces with mud, leave the corpse in the house, and parade the town; and, after tying a girdle round their waists, expose their bosoms, and beat their breasts: they are accompanied also by all their female relations. The men, on the other hand, beat their breasts, and gird their waists. When these ceremonies have been performed, they carry away the dead body, for the purpose of having it embalmed. For this business, certain persons are specifically appointed, and exercise it as a profession: when the corpse is brought to them, these artists shew to the bearers of the body some wooden models of dead bodies, painted to imitate nature; and first explain to them the most-carefully executed of these patterns, the name of which in this business I deem it im-

proper to mention. They next shew the second pattern, considerably inferior to the former, and cheaper; and then the third, which is the cheapest of all. They then inquire according to which model the people wish to have the body prepared: when the relations present have agreed for the price, they withdraw; while the artists, who work at home, proceed to embalm the body in the following manner, which is also the most sumptuous. In the first place, with an iron hook, they draw out the brain through the nostrils; not the whole, but a part only; which they replace with certain drugs. Next, with a sharp Ethiopian stone, they make an incision down the flank, by which they draw out the whole of the intestines: having cleansed the abdomen, and rinsed it with palm-wine, they then sprinkle the inside with pounded perfumes. After they have filled the belly with genuine pounded myrrh, casia, and other perfumes, frankincense excepted, they sew up again the aperture: having so prepared the body, they put it in natron, where they steep it for seventy days: more than that time it is unlawful to keep the body in pickle. When the seventy days are gone by, they wash the corpse, and wrap the whole body in bandages of cotton cloth, smeared with the gum, which the Egyptians generally use instead of paste: the dead body is then taken back by the relations; who have a wooden case, made in the shape of a man, in which they put the corpse; and then, closing it, deposit the whole in a sepulchral chamber, placing the case upright against the wall. This is the most costly mode of preparation. For such as wish to go to a moderate expense, and avoid all extravagance, the embalmers prepare the bodies thus: They fill their syringes with oil made from the cedar, and inflate the abdomen of the corpse, without making any incision or taking out the intestines, but merely apply their injections by the anus of the dead body: they stop the passage by which the injection might flow out, and so put the body into pickle for the prescribed number of days; on the last of which they let out from the abdomen the cedar oil, by injecting which they had begun their operation: the power of this drug is so great, that it dissolves and brings out with it the bowels and other intestines. The natron consumes the flesh; and consequently nothing remains of the body

but skin and bone. When this has been done and completed, the embalmers return the body, without doing any thing more.

The third mode of embalming, which is used only for the very poor, is this: they inject the abdomen with radish-juice, steep the body the seventy days in pickle, and then give it to the relations when they come to fetch it. As for the wives of great people, they are not delivered to the embalmers immediately after death; neither are such women as have been particularly beautiful, and the subject of great notice: they are entrusted to the embalmers three or four days after death: this is done in order that the workmen may not abuse the persons of the deceased females; for they say that one of these persons was caught in the very act, having been informed against by a brother workman. Every person seized by a crocodile, no matter whether he be Egyptian or alien, and all brought to death by the river itself, on whatever territory the body may float to, must by law be embalmed, adorned in the most magnificent manner, and entombed in a sacred coffin. No one dare touch him, whether relation or friend: the priests of the Nile bury the body with their own hands, as being something more than that of a man.

The Egyptians have a great aversion to the Hellenic customs, and, generally speaking, to all the usages of other nations. This aversion pervades all Egypt, with the exception of Chemmis, a large town in the Thebaïc nome, not far from Neapolis. At this place there is seen a quadrangular tempel to Perseus the son of Danaë, around which palm-trees have been planted: the propylæa of the edifice is very extensive, and built of stone; upon the top of which stand two colossal statues. Within this precinct stands the temple itself, where the image of Perseus is seen. The people of Chemmis assert that Perseus has frequently appeared to them on earth; frequently, likewise, within the temple; and that one of the sandals that he wears, two cubits in length, is sometimes found: and after this appearance, Egypt is throughout blessed with abundance.

In imitation of the Hellenic ceremonies, they open, to the honour of Perseus, a gymnic list for all sorts of sports and combats; proposing as prizes, heads of cattle, cloaks, and

skins. When I inquired how it was that Perseus was wont to make his appearance to them alone, and why they departed so widely from the Egyptian customs as to celebrate gymnic games, the answer given to me was: "that Perseus was originally of their town; for Danaus and Lynceus, who were natives of Chemmis, came, by sea, from thence to Hellas:" then recapitulating the genealogy of these two men, they brought it down to Perseus: and next proceeded to say in answer: "Perseus had come to Egypt, for the same purpose as the Hellenes themselves represent; that is to say, to bring away from Libya the Gorgon's head: he paid them also a visit, and acknowledged all his kindred:—that, informed by his mother, he had heard of the name of Chemmis before he came to Egypt; and that according to his injunction they celebrated the gymnic games."

All the above customs hold among the Egyptians that reside above the morasses: those that occupy the morasses themselves have the same institutions as the rest of the Egyptians; among others, that, like the Hellenes, of every man having but one wife. But, as respects the domestic customs relating to provisions, they have discovered many things conducive to their comfort. For instance, when the river has swollen to its highest, and has swamped the meadows, an abundance of lilies springs up in the water, which are called by the Egyptians 'lotus:' they gather these plants, dry them in the sun, and then thresh out the pods in the middle of the lotus, which are similar to those of the poppy, and make loaves of the seed, and bake them: the root of this lotus is also edible, and of a delicate sweet taste; it is globular, and of the size of an apple. There are, moreover, other lilies, similar to roses, that grow in the river; the fruit of which shoots up from the root in a calyx, supported on an independent stalk, and is very like a wasp's comb: within this calyx are contained several eatable kernels, about the size of an olive-stone: these are eaten, both fresh and dried. The annual plant called the 'byblus'[1] is pulled up in the marshes:

[1] This is the *Cyperus papyrus*, or water-plant; consisting of a tuft of stalks without leaves, each terminating in an umbel of flowers very

the top of the plant is cut off, and put to various uses: the lower part, about a cubit long, they eat, and make an object of sale: those who are desirous of having the byblus very deliciously prepared, put it into a hot oven, and eat it without any seasoning. Some of these people live entirely on fish, which they catch, gut, and dry in the sun; and, when properly cured, use them as food.

The gregarious sorts of fish are seldom found in the river: they grow to their natural size in the lakes, and, when nature excites them to procreation, proceed in shoals to the sea: the males lead the way, shedding their milt; and the females, following in the rear, eagerly swallow it up, and are thus milted. When all have been fecundated in the sea, they return back, each to his own ground: the males, however, no longer take the lead; the females swim at the head of the shoal, and, as the males did before, eject now their spawn, which is about as large as millet-seed; the males, following behind devour greedily these seeds, which are themselves all fishes. The seeds that escape, and are not devoured, grow up, and become fishes. Those that are caught in their descent to the sea all bear marks of friction on the left of the head; those taken on their return have the marks on the right. This proceeds from the following circumstance: going down to the sea, they keep close to the land on their left; and at their return up the river, keep up to the same bank, and hug and scrape the land lest they should be thrown out of their way by the force of the current. As soon as the Nile begins to swell, and the hollows in the land and the quagmires near the river first begin to fill with the water oozing through the banks from the river, immediately those pools fill, vast quantities of little fishes swarm on all sides. How this comes to pass, may, I conceive, be thus explained: when, the preceding year, the Nile forsook the lands, the fish that had spawned in the marshy grounds withdrew at the same time; but when, in the course of time, the water again rises, fishes hatch forthwith, from those very eggs.

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elegant and airy. The inner bark of this plant served the ancients instead of paper.

The Egyptians residing in the marshes use an oil[1] extracted from the seeds of the ricinus, or palma-christi, which they call 'cici.' They cultivate this plant (which in Hellas grows spontaneously wild) on the banks of the river and lakes; by which means it bears a greater crop, but sheds a vile smell. When they have harvested the seed, they tread it out; and some put it under the press, while others grill or boil it, and collect the matter that it discharges: the extract is fat, and not inferior to olive-oil for burning in lamps, only that it sends forth such an abominable smell. As a defence against the musquitoes, which are in vast swarms, they resort to the following expedients: the people residing in the marshes themselves take advantage of the lofty towers they are obliged to inhabit, and sleep on the top; which the musquitoes are hindered, by the winds, from attaining, in their flight. But the people that reside on the sides or in the neighbourhood of the marshes substitute another expedient for the towers: every man possesses a net, with which he catches fish in the day, and makes the following use of in the night: around and over the bed he sleeps on he casts the net; he then creeps under, and lays himself down. The musquitoes, which, even if he were to wrap himself in a linen cloak when in bed, would bite through all, do not so much as even try the net.

The craft they use for the freight of merchandise are constructed of a kind of thorn;[2] I mean the thorn that resembles the Cyrenæan lotus, and the exudation of which constitutes gum. Out of this tree they cut wooden planks, about two cubits in length, and arrange them brick-fashion; proceeding thus in their ship-building. They fasten together the planks around with many long tree-nails; and, when they have thus completed the hull, they lay across the top some beams of the same material: they have no recourse to ribs: and caulk the seams with byblus in the inside: they fit on only one rudder, which passes through the keel; rig

[1] Castor-oil.

[2] The Acacia, a thorny tree, from which exudes what we call gum-arabic.

a mast from the same sort of thorn; and hoist cotton sails. These craft are unable to stem the current, unless it blow a fresh gale, and are towed off land. When they go down stream, they manage them thus: A square frame is made of tamarisk beams, wattled with reeds: a stone is likewise procured, bored through the middle, and in weight about two talents. The frame is now fastened to a hawser; and let down from the prow, to be carried out by the stream: the stone is let down at the stern, and fastened to another hawser. Accordingly, the frame, falling in with the current, drives down pretty fast, with the 'baris' in tow—that is the name given to this craft: the stone trailing at the stern, and along the bottom of the river, serves to steady the vessel. There are vast numbers of this sort of barks, some of which are of many tons' burden. When the Nile overflows the land, the cities only are to be seen above its surface, somewhat similar to the islands in the Ægæan sea; for at those times all the other parts of Egypt are under water: so that they navigate, when this is the case, not only along the river-stream, but even over the middle of the plain: thus, if you are making the voyage up from Naucratis to Memphis, your course will pass close to the pyramids: this is not, however, the general road, which is to the vertex of the Delta, and the city of Cercasorus. As you sail from the sea up to Naucratis, you also cross the Canopic plain, and pass by the town of Anthylla, and that called the city of Archandros. The former of these, a respectable town, is set apart expressly for the shoes of the wife of the reigning king of Egypt; a practice which has been instituted since Egypt was subjected to the Persians. The latter town appears to me to take its name from Danaus's son-in-law, Archandrus son of Phthius, grandson of Achæus; for that place is called Archandrus. There may, indeed, have been another Archandrus; but, at all events, the name is Egyptian.

Up to this part of my account of Egypt, the narrative is drawn from what I have seen myself, and my own ideas of things: what follows was composed from the information I gathered in my communications with Egyptians, accompanied by some particulars from my own observations. The priests

stated, that Menes, the first that ever ruled over Egypt, threw up, in the first place, the dyke that protects Memphis: for, previously, the whole of the stream flowed along the sand-covered mountain ridge fronting Libya; but Menes, beginning about one hundred stades above Memphis, filled in the elbow made by the Nile in the south; and thus, not only exhausted the old bed, but formed also a canal by which the river was made to flow in the mid-space between the [Libyan and Arabian] mountains. Even at the present day, this ancient elbow, repelling the Nile in his course, is attended to and watched with great care by the Persians, and fortified every year with additional works; for should the river rise over and burst this dyke, the whole of Memphis would be exposed to the danger of being swept away. When the part reclaimed from the river had become firm land, Menes, this first king, built in the first place, as I have said before, on this spot, the town now called Memphis (for Memphis is situated in the narrow part of Egypt); and without the town excavated a lake, communicating with the river, in the north and west quarter: for Memphis being washed to the east by the Nile, it was not possible to effect these works on that side.

In the second place, he erected next, in the same town, the temple of Vulcan, which is a vast building, and well deserving of commemoration. As successors to Menes, the priests quoted from a manuscript the names of three hundred and thirty other kings. In so many generations of men, there occurred eighteen Ethiopian kings, and one native queen: all the rest were Egyptian kings. The name of the woman, who thus held the sceptre, was Nitocris, the same as that of the Babylonian queen. According to the report of the priests, she avenged her brother, who had preceded her on the throne, but was put to death by the Egyptians: after committing this deed, the nation presented the empire to this woman, his sister. In revenge of her brother, she destroyed many of the Egyptians by artifice. She built herself extensive subterraneous apartments; and under the pretence of inaugurating the edifice, but really with a very different purpose, invited to a banquet many of the Egyptians whom she knew to have participated in the murder; and when they were seated at

table and enjoying themselves, she let in the river waters, by means of a large concealed drain. Nothing more is related concerning this queen by the priests, except that, having effected her purpose, she threw herself into a room full of ashes, in order to evade retribution. No display of works or splendour of action was mentioned of any of the other kings, with the exception of the last, Mœris: this sovereign erected, as a memorial, the north portal of Vulcan's temple; and dug a lake, the dimensions of which I shall hereafter explain: he erected also the pyramids within the lake, the size of which I shall likewise describe, when I come to the subject of the lake itself. Such were the achievements of Mœris: none were left by any of the others.

I shall therefore pass over all the above monarchs; and make mention of a king that came after them, and whose name was Sesostris. The priests represented Sesostris as the first that, embarking on long ships, proceeded out of the gulf of Arabia into the Erythræan sea, and subjected the inhabitants of the shore: they added, that, wishing to penetrate still further, he arrived at last into a sea unnavigable, by reason of the shoals; and thence sailed back into Egypt; where, according to the same priests, he levied a mighty army, and marched over the whole continent, subjecting every nation he fell in with. In the territories, accordingly, of such as fought gallantly, and strove hard for freedom, he erected pillars, with inscriptions describing his own name and country, and in what manner he had subdued the inhabitants with his forces: but in the lands of such as yielded up their towns as dastards, without a struggle, he set up pillars with the same inscriptions as for the valiant nations; to which he added a representation of the secret parts of a woman, intending thereby to signify that they were soft and effeminate. So doing, he traversed the continent of Asia; then, crossing over into Europe, subdued the Scythians and the Thracians: these were the most distant, it is my opinion, to whom the Egyptian army reached: in that quarter the pillars are found, but not any further on: here, therefore, the troops wheeled back, to return. When they came to the Phasis river, either the king himself, Sesostris, (for I cannot say to a certainty,) divided a portion of

his army, which he left to settle in that country; or some of the men, weary of this long migration, chose to remain on the banks of the Phasis. Indeed, it is manifest that the Colchians are Egyptians: this I assert, not only from my own previous conjecture, but also from what I heard of others; for, as I felt an interest in this subject, I made inquiries both of Egyptians and Colchians: the latter had a clearer remembrance of the Egyptians, than the Egyptians had of the Colchians.

The Egyptians, however, said, that they considered the Colchians as having proceeded from Sesostris's army: and I inferred the same thing, not so much because the Colchians are black and curly-headed, (which amounts to nothing, since there are other races of that kind,) but chiefly from the following proofs; that, of all mankind, the Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians, are the only nations that, from the first, have practised circumcision: the Phœnicians, and Syrians of Palestine, even confess they learned the custom from the Egyptians; while the Syrii (Cappadocians) about the Thermodon and Parthenius rivers, as well as their neighbours the Macrones, acknowledge that they have but lately adopted the practice. Now, the above are the only races of circumcised men; and, in this respect, they all evidently act in the same manner as the Egyptians; but the two nations, Ethiopians and Egyptians, which of these learnt it from the other, is a point I cannot decide upon, for it is clearly a very ancient custom. The opinion, that it was learnt by communication with Egypt, is, I think, proved beyond doubt, by this fact: such of the Phœnicians as have any traffic with the Hellenes, no longer imitate the Egyptians, but leave their children uncircumcised.

I will now mention, also, an additional instance of similitude between Colchians and Egyptians. The Colchians and the Egyptians weave cloth in the same manner, but different from all the world besides: the whole life, the language, are one and the same, in both nations. The linen woven by the Colchians is called Sardonic: that made in Egypt is, however, designated as Egyptian.[1] As to the pillars erected in the various countries

[1] The Egyptians, in weaving cloth, shot the woof or weft downwards; whereas other nations drive it upwards.

by Sesostris king of Egypt, most of them have evidently perished: I saw, however, one of these in Syria of Palestine, bearing the inscription as above, with the characteristic of the female sex. On some rocks in Ionia there are engraved images of this prince: one is on the road by which you go from Ephesia to Phocæa, and the other between Sardis and Smyrna. In both these places the image of a man has been cut out, four cubits and a half high, bearing in his right hand a spear, in his left a bow, and so on with the whole attire, which is half Egyptian and half Ethiopian: from shoulder to shoulder, athwart the breast, a line of sacred Egyptian characters is carved, the purport of which is: I HAVE WON THIS LAND BY MY OWN SHOULDERS:—who, or whence he is, Sesostris does not hint here, but explains elsewhere. Some persons, who have seen these relics, have conjectured them to be images of Memnon: in this, however, they are greatly deceived.

The priests go on to state, that when this Egyptian Sesostris, on his return with many men from among the various subdued nations, reached Daphnæ of Pelusium, being by his own brother, whom he had set over Egypt, invited to be present at a banquet, himself and his sons, wood was piled up on the outside of the edifice, and set on fire. Sesostris, informed of this, immediately consulted his wife, who had accompanied him thither: the advice she gave him, as they had six sons, was, to stretch two across the fire, and thus, making a dyke against the flames, seek salvation. Sesostris did so; and in this manner two sons were consumed by the fire, while the rest, together with their father, made their escape.[1]

After Sesostris' return to Egypt, and when he had taken revenge on his brother, he employed the multitude of prisoners brought from the subdued countries in the following works: not only were they set to drag the huge masses of stone, which, under the reign of this king, were brought to Vulcan's temple, but were likewise obliged to dig all the canals now seen in Egypt: thus, they were compelled, by force, to work such an

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[1] A direct interpretation of the figure carved on the walls of Vulcan's temple: whether the priests knew of the allegoric meaning, or wished to withhold it from Herodotus, is a matter of mere conjecture.

alteration in the face of the country, that the whole territory, previously well adapted for horse-riding and the use of chariots, became useless for those purposes; because from that time, in Egypt, which is all level land, horses and carriages were no longer used: the cause being, the numerous canals in all directions. The motive that induced the king to intersect in this manner the country, was, that all the Egyptians, whose cities do not stand on the river-side, but lie at some distance, suffered from drought when the floods left them, and the inhabitants were obliged to procure a brackish beverage from their wells.

It was also related, that this king divided the soil among all the Egyptians, giving to each individual an equal quadrangular portion; and from thence drew his revenues, enacting what contribution should be made every year: and if the river should sweep away any portion, the proprietor was to come to him, and report what had happened; when he would send surveyors and measurers, to ascertain to what extent the soil was diminished, so that thereafter the appointed contribution should be proportionately decreased. Hence, in my opinion, land-surveying took its origin, and subsequently extended to Hellas: for it was from the Babylonians that the Hellenes learnt the use of the clock and sun-dial. This king was accordingly the only Egyptian that ever ruled over Ethiopia. He left, as memorials of himself, some stone statues in front of Vulcan's temple: two, thirty cubits each, himself and his wife: their sons, four, each twenty cubits. A long time after, one of the priests of Vulcan warned Darius, the Persian king, from setting up his own statue before these; observing, that "Darius had not achieved deeds equal to those of Sesostris the Egyptian: for Sesostris had conquered no fewer nations than Darius had subdued; and had, moreover, overpowered the Scythians, a thing which the Persian could not compass: therefore it was not fair he should place his own statue before those offerings, unless he had surpassed in exploits." Darius, accordingly, by their account, excused the boldness of the priest.

At the decease of Sesostris, the power, it is said, was assumed by his son Pheron. This prince displayed no inclination for war: he was afflicted with blindness, in consequence of the following event: the river having swollen eighteen

cubits, an enormous height for those days, and covering the arable lands, a gale of wind arose, and the river was agitated by waves; when the king, impiously grasping a spear, hurled it in the midst of the eddies of the stream: forthwith he was taken with ophthalmia, and became blind: and the affliction, accordingly, lasted during ten years: but in the eleventh year, an oracle came to him from the city of Buto, declaring, "that the period of his visitation was at an end; and he would recover sight, by bathing his eyes in the urine of some woman who had never gone astray from her lawful husband, and was innocent before all men excepting him." The king, therefore, made the first trial on his own wife; but seeing no better after that, he persisted in making the experiment on all women: having at last been restored to sight, he collected in one town, called Erythrebolus, all the women whom he had made trial of, excepting her by whose urine he was cured; and consumed them all by fire, together with the town itself. Her, to whom he was indebted for his sight, he took to himself as wife. Having thus escaped from the disease in his eyes, Pheron made magnificent offerings to all the celebrated temples: but the most particularly deserving of our admiration, no doubt, are the beautiful works dedicated at the temple of the Sun, namely, two stone obelisks, each cut out of one single block, and each of a hundred cubits in length by eight in breadth.

He was succeeded, the priests said, in the kingdom, by a native of Memphis, whose name, in Hellenic, is Proteus: his sacred grove, a beautiful and well-adorned spot, is still extant at Memphis, lying south of the Vulcanian fane: the environs are inhabited by Tyrian Phœnicians; and the whole of this quarter is known by the name of the Tyrian camp. Within the sacred grove of Proteus stands the temple of Foreign Venus: this is, I presume, the temple of Helen the daughter of Tyndarus, who, I have been told, lived with Proteus, and bore the name of Foreign Venus; for, among all the other temples of Venus, there is none elsewhere having the name of Foreign.

The priests, when I inquired into the history of Helen, told me that matter passed in the following manner:— Paris, having stolen Helen from Sparta, steered for his own

country; but, when he was on the Ægean sea, an adverse gale drove him from his course, into the sea of Egypt; from whence—for the storm did not slacken in violence—he came to Egypt; and landed at Taricheæ, on the mouth of the Nile, now called the Canopic. On that shore stood a temple, the same that is seen there at present; where, if a slave, belong to whom he may, takes refuge, and gives himself up to the god, by having certain sacred marks impressed on his body, no one can lay hands on him. This custom continued still in force in my time, exactly as it was at the beginning. The attendants of Paris, consequently, when informed of the practice that held in that temple, forsook their master, and, setting down as suppliants of the god, accused Paris, with a view of doing him an injury; and described how he had behaved to Helen, and his iniquity towards Menelaus. This deposition was made to the priests, as well as to the governor of that mouth, the name of whom was Thonis. On the receipt of this intelligence, Thonis sends instantly a message to Proteus at Memphis, conceived in these words: "A stranger of Trojan race has arrived here, after committing a nefarious deed in Hellas; for he carried off the wife of his host; and has come hither, bringing the woman, with great treasure, being driven by the winds to your shore. I ask, Whether we shall allow this stranger to take his departure unmolested; or shall I seize his property before he goes away?" Proteus returned for answer: "Arrest this man, whoever he may be, that has dealt so wickedly with his host; send him to me, that I may see what he has to say for himself." Thonis, having received these orders, seized the person of Paris, and put an embargo on his ships; and then sent off the prisoner to Memphis, together with Helen and his treasures: the suppliants were also despatched to the same place.

When all were arrived, Proteus examined Paris, as to whom he was, and from whence he had sailed: the prisoner mentioned his family, and stated what was the name of his country; and, more particularly, described his voyage, and the port he had sailed from. Then Proteus questioned the prisoner on the manner he got possession of Helen. Paris, prevaricating in his answers, and not speaking the truth, the

men, who had become suppliants, confronted him, and went through the history of his iniquities. At last Proteus, pronounced this sentence on him:—"Did I not hold it of paramount importance not to put to death any stranger whatever that may come to my shores weather-bound, I would revenge the Hellenes of your behaviour, you most wicked wretch! who after having received the blessings of hospitality, have dared to commit so flagrant a crime. Not only have you suborned the wife of your own benefactor; that was not enough to content you; but you must carry her off, steal her person: nay, even that does not satisfy your cupidity, but you must even rifle your friend's house, ere you depart. Now, therefore, though I hold it of great consequence not to take the life of strangers, I shall not allow you to take away this woman, or this treasure; but I will keep them for your Hellenic friend, until he choose himself to come and fetch them away. My commands are, that you yourself and your shipmates shall quit my land, and go to some other, within three days: if not, you shall be treated as enemies."

Thus the priests described the arrival of Helen at Proteus's court. Homer also, I think, must have heard the same account: but it was not so well adapted to the epopœïa, as that which he made use of: for this reason, he rejected it, although he has given proofs that he was aware of the above history as well. This is evident; for, as he sings in the Iliad (and no where else does he retract) the wanderings of Paris, how, when carrying away Helen, he was driven out of his course, and strayed to various countries; among others, to Sidon of Phœnicia. He hints at the same thing in the exploits of Diomedes; and these are his words:

> Where the variegated robes, works of the Sidonian dames, were found, that the god-like Paris himself brought from Sidon, sailing on the wide sea, what way he took the high-born Helen. Iliad, vi. 289—292.

He alludes to the same also in the Odyssey, in these words:

> Such drugs of healing excellence had Jove's daughter, gift from Polydamna, Thonis' spouse of Egypt, where the nurturing field breeds drugs numerous, some of salutary, others for poisonous potions. Odyssey iv, 227.

These words, also, are spoken by Menelaus to Telemachus:

> In Egypt the gods retained me, though anxious to return hither, because I had not offered to them complete hecatombs. Odyssey iv. 351.

In these verses Homer proves that he knew of Paris's wanderings; for Syria confines on Egypt; and the Phœnicians, to whom Sidon belongs, inhabit Syria. From these verses, and the last passage especially, it may be evidently concluded, that Homer was not the author of the Cypriac verses, but some other poet. For in that poem it is said, "On the third day, Paris reached Ilium, with Helen, from Sparta, wafted by a favourable breeze over a calm sea:" whereas it is said in the Iliad, that he wandered far and wide with his prize.—But now bid we farewell to Homer and the Cypriac verses.

I inquired of the priests, whether it was a vain fable, or not, that the Hellenes narrate of the Trojan war. To this they made the following answer, obtained, they said, by inquiry from Menelaus himself: That, after the rape of Helen, a vast army of Hellenes invaded the land of Teucria, in Menelaus's cause: and after the host had landed, and pitched their camp, they sent a deputation to Ilium, which Menelaus himself accompanied: when admitted within the walls, they claimed back Helen, and the treasure that Paris had stolen from the Hellenic prince, and demanded satisfaction for that unjust deed. But the Teucrians, both then and ever after, persisted in the same declaration, whether put to the oath or not, that they had not Helen, nor the treasure thus claimed, but, that all these things were in Egypt;—that it would not be right they should make retribution for what Proteus, the Egyptian king, had in his possession;—that the Hellenes, fancying the Trojans were laughing at them, therefore besieged the town, and at last captured it. Having stormed the city, they found no Helen there, but received the same account as before; so that the Hellenes, giving at last credit to the report, sent Menelaus himself to Proteus. Menelaus, on his arrival in Egypt, sailed up to Memphis; where he described the true events that had taken place, met with a sumptuous reception,

and received back Helen unhurt; and, together with her, all the teasure.

Thus successful, Menelaus, notwithstanding, behaved very iniquitously towards the Egyptians. Foul winds hindered him from heaving anchor and taking his departure: this having continued a long time, he had recourse to the following nefarious expedient: he seized two Egyptian children, and sacrificed them. From the moment that it was known he had been guilty of such a murder, he became an object of hatred and persecution, and fled with his ships to Libya. Whither he directed his course from thence, the Egyptians confessed they could not tell: but that of the above particulars, some they had ascertained by inquiry; others had occurred before their eyes, and they were able to vouch for their accuracy.

Such was the Egyptian account: and I myself accede to the truth of these events having happened in respect of Helen, to which I will subjoin the following remarks. If Helen had been in Ilium, she would have been restored to the Hellenes, whether at or against the consent of Paris; for surely Priam, at all events, could not have been so distraught, nor could all belonging to his family be so infatuated, as to expose to destruction their own persons, their children, their city, in order that Paris might still be united to Helen. Indeed, though they might in the earlier times have followed that counsel, yet, when so many, not only of the Trojan subjects, were cut off, whenever they engaged with the Hellenes, but whenever a battle was fought it was not without the slaughter of one, two, three, or even more of the sons of Priam, if we are to give credit to the accounts of the epics—if, I say, such was really the case, it is my decided opinion, that had Priam himself been married to Helen, he would have given her back to the Achæi, with a view, at any rate, of putting an end to such dire consequences.

Neither was Paris even heir to the throne, so as in the old age of Priam to have assumed the management of affairs. Hector was the real heir, being the senior of Paris, and more of a man, and was to succeed to the power at Priam's decease: it would not have been expedient in him to side with

his brother, in his iniquities; and to do this, when such calamities, through Paris's agency, oppressed himself and his family, together with all the rest of the Trojans. But they had really no Helen to give up; and, although they spoke the truth to the Hellenes, no faith was put in what they said: the cause of which, in my opinion, was, that Providence arranged that the destruction of the Trojan nation, by one general massacre, should convince all men, that for great misdeeds great are the punishments at the hands of the gods.

Rhampsinitus, said the priests, was the successor of Proteus: he left, as a memorial, the western propylæa of Vulcan's temple; in front of which he set up two statues, twenty-five cubits high: that standing to the north, the Egyptians call summer; the other, to the south, they call winter: before that called summer they prostrate themselves, and offer sacrifice, but behave just in the contrary way to the other called winter. They added, that this king possessed a vast quantity of money, such as none of the kings that came after him could ever surpass, or even approach to. Wishing to store up his treasure in safety, he gave orders that a chamber should be built of stone, with one of the walls standing against the outside wall of the palace.

The builder, after some consideration, devised the following artifice: he laid one of the stones in such a manner, that it might be easily taken out by two men, or even one. When the chamber was completed, the king deposited his treasure in it: but the builder, some time after, being at the point of death, called into his presence his sons, for he had two; and described to them, how, in order to provide for their plenteous subsistence, he had managed in the construction of the king's treasury. Having accurately explained to them all the particulars about the extraction of the stone, he gave them the measures; and said, that, if they observed his directions, they would become the stewards of the royal riches. The builder accordingly died; and his sons did not long tarry to put in practice their father's advice; they came to the palace at night, ascertained the stone alluded to in the wall, pulled it out without any difficulty, and came away with great booty. But, when the king came to open the chamber, he saw, to his aston-

ishment, that the vases containing the money were deficient in contents: he could not, however, lay the blame to any one: the seals were all unbroken, and the chamber well secured.

Having two or three times more opened the treasury, the money visibly decreased (for the thieves continued their rapine): the king therefore adopted this expedient: he ordered some traps to be made, which he set around the vases in which the money was stored: the thieves coming, as was their custom, and one of them having entered the treasury, went straight up to one of the vases, and was immediately caught in the trap: as soon as he found himself in this predicament, he called to his brother, explained to him what had happened, and bade him enter as quickly as possible, and cut off his head, lest he should be seen and recognised, and thereby cause the destruction of the other also. The brother on the outside thought he spoke to the purpose, and did as he was advised. The surviving thief returned the stone carefully, and proceeded home with his brother's head. At day-break, the king entered the chamber, and was amazed to behold the decapitated thief's body in the trap; while the room remained unviolated, and presented no means of entrance or exit. Thus circumstanced, the king, the priests add, acted as follows: he hung the dead body of the thief over the wall; and stationed sentinels underneath, giving them orders to seize and bring before him whomsoever they might see weep or mourn at the exhibition. The mother, it is said, was greatly exasperated at the exposure of the corpse: she spoke to the surviving son, and enjoined him, in all possible ways, to contrive to get possession of the body of his brother, and bring it to her; but, should he neglect to execute her order, she threatened to go herself to the king, and impeach him as in possession of the money. As the mother treated so harshly her surviving son, and he, notwithstanding his many arguments, could not persuade her, he had recourse to the following artifice: he got ready, they say, his asses and loaded them with skins well filled with wine: he then drove the animals before him: and when he was come to the sentinels set over the suspended body, he pulled two or three of the feet of the skins that hung down; and, when the wine gushed out, he beat his head, uttering loud cries, as if in doubt which of the

asses he should turn first to. The sentinels, seeing abundance of wine flowing away, ran out all together into the road, with cups in their hands, and collected the spilt liquor, which they considered as so much gain. The drover, pretending violent anger, pursued the soldiers with all kinds of abuse: the men, however, soothed him, and he pretended to mollify, and relax in wrath: at last, he drove his asses out of the road, and put their loads all right again: as the soldiers continued to chatter with him, one of them cracked a joke that excited him to laugh, so he gave them one of the wine-skins. The soldiers immediately stretched themselves on the ground, and attended only to drink, and make a friend of the drover, whom they invited to stay and join their revel: the man suffered himself, forsooth, to be persuaded, and remained. As the soldiers behaved so civilly towards him, he gave them another of the skins of wine. The men having partaken abundantly of the beverage, became completely intoxicated; and, overpowered with sleep, laid down, and slept on the same spot where they had been drinking.

The drover, then, as the night was far advanced, took down the body of his brother, shaved the right cheeks of all the sentinels as a sign of his contempt, then threw the body on the back of the asses, and drove home, having accomplished the orders of his mother. The priests represented the king as sorely irate, when informed that the carcase of the thief had been thus stolen away: fully determined to find out who was the author of this piece of trickery, he is said—although I give no credit to the tale—to have done as follows: he placed his own daughter in a brothel, with orders to receive all comers without exception, and not to admit their embraces until she had compelled each to tell to her what he had done most ingenious and nefarious in his life: him that might relate the same things as were known about the thief, she was to arrest, and keep from going away. The daughter acted according to her father's orders: but the robber (so the priests said) having ascertained why the king had recourse to such an expedient, determined to overreach the king himself in trickery, and proceeded thus: he cut off, at the shoulder, the arm of a fresh corpse, and, concealing it under his cloak, went into the king's

daughter; and being questioned, as all the others had been, related, as the most nefarious thing he ever did, the cutting off his brother's head, when he was caught in a gin within the king's treasury, and, as the most ingenious, the manner in which he intoxicated the sentinels, and extricated the suspended body of his brother. As soon as the girl heard this, she laid hold of him; but the thief presented to her, in the dark, the dead man's arm, which she took, fancying she grasped her visitor's hand. In the mean while, the thief let go the dead limb to the woman, and escaped by the door. When this also was reported to the king, he was amazed at the skill and audacity of the thief: finally, he sent round to all the towns, and proclaimed pardon to the culprit, and promised a great reward, if he would come into his presence. The thief trusted to the pledge, and went to the king; who greatly admired the man, and united in marriage to him the same daughter, considering him the wisest husband he could select; since this Egyptian surpassed all other Egyptians, who are so preeminent for wisdom among nations.

Subsequently to the above, according to the priests, this king descended into the place which the Hellenes think to be 'Haïdes,' and there played at dice with Ceres; sometimes beating the goddess, at others the goddess beating him. At his return, he received a present from her hands—a gold napkin. The priests say, also, that the Egyptians have instituted a festival, which lasts from the time of the descent of Rhampsinitus to that of his return. I am aware, indeed, that such a festival was celebrated by them, down to my time; but whether for the above, or any other reason, I cannot say: on that day, the priests weave a cloak, and bind the eyes of one of their number with a handkerchief: they conduct the person, thus bound about the eyes, and wrapped in the cloak, to the road that leads to the temple of Ceres, where they leave him, and return. The blindfolded priest is taken, they say, by two wolves, to the temple of Ceres, twenty stades' distance from the city; and is afterwards brought back, to the place he started from, by the same animals. Those who can believe such tales are at liberty to adopt what the Egyptians relate: my business, throughout this History, is to write down what I hear from all persons. The

Egyptians assert that Ceres and Bacchus are the princes of the infernal regions. They are, likewise, the first people that promulgated the immortality of the human soul; and the doctrine, that, when the body is consumed, the soul enters some other animal, rising into existence always at that moment; and that after it has passed through the bodies of all terrestrial, marine, and aërial creatures it again animates a human body, born at that time; the circuit being made in three thousand years. This doctrine has been adopted by many Hellenes, some at one period, and others at another, as being their own invention: their names, although known to me, I do not mention.

Accordingly, until the reign of Rhampsinitus, by the priests' account, Egypt enjoyed the advantages of universal justice and of great prosperity. After that king's reign, and under that of Cheops over the Egyptians, the country was reduced to the utmost misery: for he shut up all the temples, in the first place, and forbade them to offer sacrifice: in the next place, he ordered all the Egyptians to labour in his own service; some of whom he accordingly appointed to the task of dragging, from the quarries in the Arabian mountains, the blocks down to the Nile: others he stationed to take the said blocks, when brought across the river in vessels, and drag them to the range called the Libyan mountain. They were compelled to labour in this manner by one hundred thousand at a time, each party during three months: the time during which the people were thus ground down, lasted ten years on the road which they constructed for the conveyance of the stones; a work hardly less laborious, in my opinion, than that of building the pyramid itself; for in length it is five stades; in breadth, ten orgyæ; in height, at the loftiest part, eight orgyæ; the materials of polished stone, covered with all kinds of carved figures. On this road, therefore, ten years were spent, besides the works on the hill where the pyramids stand; namely, underground apartments, which Cheops ordered to be made, as repositories for himself, in an island formed by the canal drawn from the Nile.

The time expended in erecting the pyramid itself was twenty years: its dimensions are, each face eight plethra, the edifice being on a quadrangular plan: the height is the same: it is

BUILDING THE PYRAMIDS

From a painting by Gustave Richter

UNDER THE REIGN OF CHEOPS EGYPT WAS REDUCED TO THE UTMOST MISERY. HE ORDERED THE PEOPLE TO LABOR, ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND AT A TIME, FOR TEN YEARS, IN BRINGING STONE FROM ARABIA, AND THEN FOR TWENTY YEARS MORE IN BUILDING THE PYRAMIDS.

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composed, for the most part, of polished stones, nicely jointed, and none of the blocks less than thirty feet. This pyramid was erected in the manner which I shall now describe: they adopted, for their plan, a flight of steps; called, by some, stairs: by others, a pile of altars. Having laid the first course of steps for the buildings, they hoisted the remainder of the blocks to a proper height, by means of machines consisting of short wooden spars. From the ground, then, they lifted them up to the first course; and when the stone had reached that height, they placed it on another contrivance of the same nature prepared for the purpose on the first course, and dragged it up to the second; and thus the machines must have been the same in numbers as that of the steps: or else they had but one machine, and that moveable, which was taken from step to step, as they hauled the stone up: for it is proper I should state both modes; as they are related. The highest parts were accordingly the first finished off, after which, they proceeded down to the other parts, step by step; and so, at last, came to the course resting on the ground, and completed also the footing.

On the pyramid, an inscription, in Egyptian letters, shews how much was expended in supplying the workmen with radishes, onions, and garlic; and I recollect perfectly the interpreter's reading to me the inscription, and saying the amount was one thousand six hundred silver talents. If this statement is correct, how much more must have been expended for the iron tools that they worked with, for the provisions, and clothing of the labourers? when they occupied so long a time as I have said in erecting the pyramid itself, besides that, I suppose, passed in cutting stone, conveying it, and building the underground places, which must have been of no small duration. So deeply had Cheops, it was said, sunk into infamy, that, being in want of cash, he placed his daughter in a brothel, enjoining her to extort a certain sum of money: what that was, however, is not told; but the damsel not only extorted what her father prescribed, but contrived to leave for herself separately a memorial, by asking every one that paid her a visit to give one stone towards the building. And with these stones, it is said,

she built the pyramid that stands in the middle of the three,[1] in front of the great pyramid: its sides are each one and a half plethron long.

This Cheops, according to the Egyptians, reigned fifty years: at the decease of this prince, his brother Chephren assumed the power, and acted after the same manner as his predecessor; and, among other things, built a pyramid, which, in size, falls very short of his brother's in its dimensions, for I measured both myself. Neither are there any under-ground apartments attached to it; nor is it watered, like the other, by a canal from the Nile; which, in the latter case, flows by means of an artificial drain round the island, where Cheops himself is said to be deposited. The first story of Chephren's pyramid consists of Ethiopian stone of various colours, forty feet less in height than the other, contiguous to which it stands. Both are erected on one and the same hill, about a hundred feet high. Chephren is stated to have reigned fifty-six years. Thus one hundred and six years are reckoned, during which the greatest calamities visited the Egyptians: during that time the temples were closed, and never opened. In consequence of the detestation the Egyptians have for these two princes, they are not very anxious to mention their names; but call the pyramids after a herdsman, Philition, who at that time grazed his herds about this place.

The king that succeeded Chephren on the throne of Egypt was, they said, Mycerinus, the son of Cheops; who disapproved the conduct of his father. This prince reopened the temples; and restored to the people, ground down to the greatest misery, the privileges of working for themselves, and offering up sacrifice: he adjudged also their suits in the most equitable manner of any of the kings: in consequence of this mode of acting, the Egyptians praise this monarch far above all others of their kings: for not only did he judge in equity, but even, when any one complained of his sentence, he gave him a remuneration from his own possessions, and pacified his anger.

[1] The first pyramid was that of Cheops; the second, that of Chephren; and the third, that of Mycerinus. The fourth pyramid, or that erected by the daughter of Cheops, was in the middle of the three first, and opposite that of her father.

But the beginnings of the calamities that befel this meek prince, one who took so much care of his subjects, was the death of his daughter, the only child that remained to him. He was stricken sorely with sorrow by such a visitation; and desirous of entombing his deceased daughter in a more sumptuous manner than was customary, he gave his commands that a hollow wooden image of a cow should be prepared, which he covered with gold, and in it enclosed the body of his departed daughter. This image, accordingly, was not concealed underground, but was an object of inspection even in my time; being found at Saïs, standing within the palace, in a hall sumptuously decorated. Perfumes of all sorts are burnt, every day, before her; while, through the whole night, a lamp is kept burning.

Adjoining the place of this image, in another apartment, are seen the images of Mycerinus's concubines; such the priests of Saïs assert them to be: in fact, several wooden colossuses are placed here standing, to the number of about twenty perhaps, all represented as naked: as to who they are, I can say no more than was said to me. There are, however, some people who give the following account of this cow, and of the colossuses;—that Mycerinus was in love with his daughter, whom he deflowered by violence: the young woman, they say, strangled herself through anguish: accordingly, he entombed her in this cow; while the mother cut off the hands of the attendants who had betrayed her daughter to her father: and even now these statues bear evidence of the punishment they underwent when alive. But I think all these things are mere fables, more especially that about the amputation of the hands; for I myself saw that the hands had dropped off in the lapse of time, and remained in full view at the feet of the images, even in my day. This cow is covered with scarlet trappings: all but the head and neck, which she exhibits, covered with a very thick plate of gold; between the two horns is placed a gold circle, the representation of the sun: the cow herself is not represented standing on her legs, but crouching on her knees: in size, the image is about that of a large living cow. It is carried every year out of the apartment where it is kept: at the time that the Egyptians beat their bosoms in honour of a deity whose name I must not mention here, then they bring out the cow into the light:

for it is said the princess, on her death-bed, requested her father, Mycerinus, to let her see the sun once in every year.

After the decease of his daughter, the following was the second misfortune that befel the monarch. An oracle was received from the city of Buto, announcing that "he was to live six years only, and die in the seventh." It is related, that the prince, vexed at this doom, sent to the oracle; and upbraided the deity, urging, that "his father and uncle had closed the temples, and slighted the gods, but had enjoyed a long life, in spite of their oppressions; while he, though pious and religious, was to die so soon." There came, then, a second communication from the shrine; stating, "for that very reason his life was abridged, as he had acted contrary to what he ought to have done: for it was fated that Egypt should be oppressed with calamity during one hundred and fifty years; which the two preceding kings were aware of, whereas he himself was not." It is added, that Mycerinus having received this intelligence, and seeing that his fate was already decided, ordered a vast number of lamps to be made, which he lighted up whenever night came; during which he drank and enjoyed himself, never ceasing night nor day, and travelled over the marshes, the groves, and all places where he ascertained voluptuousness might be gratified. This mode of acting was devised by the king, for the purpose of convicting the oracle of falsehood; because, by changing night into day, he should gain twelve years in the place of six.

This king also left a pyramid; greatly inferior, however, in size to that of his father, being twenty feet less than three plethra on each side: it is of a quadrangular form, and built half-way up of Ethiopian stone. Some Hellenes assert, falsely, that this pyramid is that of Rhodopis the harlot: these persons are evidently to me quite ignorant who Rhodopis was; otherwise they could not have attributed to her the erection of such a pyramid as this, on which, to use such an expression, thousands of talents innumerable were expended: moreover, Rhodopis flourished in the reign of Amasis, and not at the epoch we are now alluding to: for she was very many years posterior to the kings that left these monuments: by birth, she was a Thracian, a fellow-slave with Æsop the fabulist, in the

service of Iadmon, the son of Hephæstopolis, a Samian. For Æsop, there can be no doubt, belonged to Iadmon; a fact clearly proved by this circumstance: the Delphians, according to the behest of the oracle, had frequently applied, by herald, for information, "who would claim satisfaction for Æsop's life;" nobody appeared, but the son of Iadmon's son, another Iadmon, who took the fine: therefore Æsop must have been the property of Iadmon.[1] Rhodopis arrived in Egypt, under the conduct of a Samian, called Xanthus: she came there to exercise her profession; but was ransomed by a native of Mitylene, Charaxus, the son of Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus Rhodopis was set at liberty, and stayed in Egypt; and, being much sought after, amassed great wealth for a woman of that class, but, at all events, not enough to erect such a pyramid: any one who wishes, may see, to this day, what the tithe of her property amounted to, and would not attribute to her such immense wealth: for Rhodopis, anxious to leave in Hellas a monument of herself, had the following articles made; which she dedicated at Delphi, as a memorial; such as it never occurred indeed to any individual to think of, and present in the temple. Out of the tenth of her whole property, therefore, she made as many

[1] Crœsus sent Æsop to Delphi with a great quantity of gold, in order to offer a magnificent sacrifice to the god, and to distribute to each citizen four minæ. Having, it would seem, some dispute with the Delphians, he performed the sacrifice, but sent the money back again to Sardis, deeming the inhabitants unworthy of the prince's munificence. The Delphians, urged by anger, unanimously accused him of sacrilege; and put him to death by dashing him from the rock Hyampæus. The god of Delphi, offended at such a deed, made their lands to be barren, and sent them all manner of dire diseases. Wishing to stay the scourge, they proclaimed at the different festivals of Greece, that if any one could be found to demand satisfaction for the death of Æsop, they would grant it him. In the third generation, a native of Samos presented himself, named Idmon [the same with the Iadmon of Herodotus]; he was no relation to Æsop, but one of the descendants of those who had purchased him at Samos. They of Delphi made some satisfaction to him, and so were delivered from the calamities with which they had been afflicted.—*Plutarch.*

iron spits to roast oxen upon, as were equivalent to the tenth of her possessions, and sent them to Delphi. They still lie, in a heap, behind the altar erected by the Chians, opposite the temple.—The harlots of Naucratis are generally very fascinating: for, in the first instance, this woman made herself so famous, that the name of Rhodopis became familiar to all the Hellenes. The second example, subsequently to Rhodopis, was given by a harlot called Archidice, celebrated throughout Hellas, but less notorious than the other.—Charaxus, after having ransomed Rhodopis, returned to Mitylene; and was often the subject of Sappho's gibes, in her verses.—But I will say no more about Rhodopis.

Next to Mycerinus, the priests mention, as his successor on the throne of Egypt, Asychis, who erected the eastern porch of Vulcan's temple, which is by far the largest and most beautiful. Each of the porches is covered with engraved figures, and vast numbers of architectural ornaments; but this one more abundantly than the rest. In the reign of this king, it is said, the circulation of money was so straitened, that a law was instituted by the Egyptians, that to redeem a debt, the person that owed the money was to pledge the dead body of his father: to this law was appended another, that the creditor should have the power of seizing the whole of the sepulchral deposits belonging to the debtor. He who, after giving this pledge, failed to cancel the debt, was subjected to the following punishment: he was not himself to receive burial at death, whether in the family sepulchre or any other; neither was any of his posterity to be deposited in a tomb. Asychis, ambitious of surpassing his predecessors, left, as a monument of himself, a pyramid composed of bricks, with an inscription carved on stone, running as follows: "Despise me not in comparison with the stone pyramids, for I exceed them as much as Jove does the other gods. They plunged a pole into the lake; and collecting what silt adhered to the pole, made of it bricks, and built me in that manner."—Such was the work of this prince.

Next to him, I was informed, ruled a blind man belonging to the town of Anysis; and himself called Anysis. Under his reign, Sabacus the Ethiopian king, followed by a mighty force

of Ethiopians, invaded Egypt: accordingly, the blind prince took refuge in the marshes, while the Ethiopian extended his sway over Egypt during fifty years; and, while he held the power, performed the following actions. Whenever any Egyptian was found guilty of a crime, Sabacus would not have him put to death; but, in proportion to the magnitude of the offence, adjudged each to labour at throwing up a mound before the city to which the culprit might belong. By this means, the towns were raised to a still higher level than before; for under king Sesostris, the prisoners of war, who dug the canals, had already thrown up mounds about the cities; and under the Ethiopian prince, these were elevated to a much greater height.

Although every town in Egypt now lies high, the most extensive mounds must have been, I think, made about Bubastis, a city which possesses a temple of Bubastis, well deserving to be mentioned: other temples may be larger and more sumptuous, but none is more grateful to the eye. Bubastis is an Egyptian word, answering to Diana. This holy precinct may be thus described. With the exception of the road leading to it, the situation is a complete island; for two canals from the Nile running inland, without mingling their waters, extend each to the entrance: one flows around this side, the other that: each is one hundred feet in breadth, and shaded with trees. The quadrangle before the temple is ten orgyæ in height; and decorated with beautiful figures, six cubits high. As the sacred precinct stands in the centre of the town, it is visible on every side, from top to bottom, when you go round it; for the town itself having been raised considerably above the old level, by means of the works thrown up, while the temple remained untouched, it is still conspicuous as when first built: a wall runs all round the precinct, covered with figures cut in the stone. In the inside is seen a grove of very large trees, growing round an extensive temple, where the divine image stands. The dimensions of the holy precinct, both length and breadth, are five stades: near the entrance is a causeway of stone, about three stades long, leading through the public square, eastward: the breadth of this causeway is four plethra: on both sides of the road which takes to

the temple of Mercury lofty trees are planted. Such, then, is this precinct.

The final departure of the Ethiopian prince is thus described by the priests: they say that he saw a vision of the following nature in his sleep: he fancied he beheld a man standing over him, who admonished him to collect all the priests in Egypt, and cut them down the middle. Sabacus having had this dream, said that he regarded it as a suggestion sent him by the gods, in order that he should attack the religious rites, and thereby draw upon himself some calamity at the hands of the gods or men. He determined not to act so, but to take his departure from the country; as the period during which he was fated to rule over Egypt was gone by: for before he quitted Ethiopia, the oracle frequented by the Ethiopians declared that he was to reign over Egypt fifty years. As, therefore, that time was come, and he was alarmed at his dream, he, of his own accord, withdrew from Egypt. After the departure of Sabacus from Egypt, the blind king resumed the authority; and came forth from the morasses, where, during a sojourn of fifty years, he had formed an island of ashes and earth: for the Egyptians being wont to come to him with provisions according to what was imposted on each individual, unknown to the Ethiopian, Anysis commanded them to bring with the tribute a certain quantity of ashes, as a present. Prior to Amyrtæus, nobody was able to find out this island: during more than seven centuries the predecessors of Amyrtæus were unable to ascertain where it lay. The name of this island is Elbo: its extent in every direction is ten stades.

Next to this last, it was stated, that a priest of Vulcan ascended the throne: his name was Sethon: he neglected, and held in no account, the fighting caste of the Egyptians, not feeling any necessity of their services. In consequence, he took various opportunities of inflicting disgraces on these people; and, among other things, he deprived them of their lands, which had been picked out and given them by his predecessors, to the amount of twelve acres every man. A short time after, Senacherib, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, led a mighty host against Egypt; in this emergency, the Egyptian warriors would not come forward: but the

priest, thus beset with difficulties, entered the temple, and, in front of the sacred image, poured forth his wailings at the danger he was exposed to. After making this complaint, sleep came upon him, and in a vision he fancied the deity was standing by and cheering him, assuring him that he should suffer no discomfiture in facing the Arabian host; for he himself would send assistants to him. Trusting to this dream, the king took such of the Egyptians as chose to follow him, and encamped with his troops at Pelusium, where the entrance into Egypt lay. Not one of the warrior caste, however, joined him: his army consisted of trades-people, mechanics, and market-people. Having arrived at the above place, the field-mice poured in legions against the foe during the night, and devoured the quivers and the bows of the enemy, together with the shield-thongs; so that, on the following day, a multitude of the invading troops, reft of their arms, fell in their flight. And even to this day the stone image of this king stands in Vulcan's temple, with a mouse in his hand, saying, as is shewn by the inscription, "Let him that looks at me, pay homage to the gods."

Up to this portion of our history, the Egyptians, as well as the priests, shew that the time elapsed from the first king to the death and end of the reign of this priest of Vulcan was three hundred and forty-one generations of men, and during these generations were as many hierarchs and kings. Now, three hundred generations of men are equal to ten thousand years; for three generations of men amount to one hundred years; and the forty-one generations, still remaining over and above the three hundred, make one thousand three hundred and forty years: thus, in eleven thousand years, together with the addition of three hundred and forty, according to their assertion, no god assumed the human form; neither, said they, had such a thing happened before, nor after, among the other kings of Egypt. But during this period, they asserted, that four times the sun had risen out of his usual seats: and that twice he rose where he now sets, and twice he set where he now rises. They add, that, in consequence of these revolutions, no alterations in regard of

Egypt, whether land or river, occurred: nor likewise with respect to diseases, or the things pertaining to death.

In former days Hecatæus the Historian, being at Thebes, was rehearsing his genealogy, and connecting his family with some god in the sixteenth remove: but the priests of Jupiter behaved to him as they did to myself, although I did not mention my genealogy; they took me into the interior of the edifice, which is of considerable extent, and reckoned up, one by one, accurately, a number of wooden colossuses which they shewed me: for every high priest there sets up the image of himself in his lifetime: after reckoning the whole series, and shewing them to me, they proved that every one was the son of his predecessor, commencing at the image of the last deceased, and proceeding along the line till they had got through the whole. When Hecatæus, as I said before, reckoned up his ancestors, and connected them with some god in the sixteenth generation, the priests objected to him the genealogies of their hierarchs, whom they enumerated, without admitting in the list that any man was ever sprung from a god: but described their genealogical table in this manner; saying, that each of the colossuses was a Piromis, born of a Piromis, until they had pointed to four hundred and forty-five colossuses Piromis, sons of Piromis, and connected the line with no god or hero. Piromis is an Egyptian word, that means 'a noble and good man.' Thus, accordingly, the priests proved to me that all those belonging to these images were far from any thing like a god; but that, prior to these men, Egypt had had the gods for its rulers, who resided among men; and one of whom was always invested with the supreme power. The last, they asserted, that ruled over Egypt, was the son of Osiris, Orus, the Egyptian name for Apollo: this god deposed Typhon, and was the last of the immortal beings that reigned in Egypt. Osiris is the Egyptian for Bacchus.

Among the Hellenes, the most modern of the gods are held to be Hercules, and Bacchus, and Pan. With the Egyptians, Pan is regarded as extremely ancient, and one of the eight gods called original; Hercules is said to belong to the second gods, called the twelve gods; and Bacchus to the third, sprung from the twelve. I have stated above, how many years

the Egyptians say have intervened from Hercules to the reign of Amasis: it is said, that in the case of Pan the number of years was still greater: the least of all Bacchus, from whom, down to king Amasis, they reckon fifteen thousand years. All the above dates the Egyptians profess to know exactly, having at all times kept an account, and registered the years. From my time, therefore, to that when Bacchus, it is said, was born of Semele, Cadmus's daughter, is about one thousand six hundred years: to Hercules, born of Alcmena, nine hundred years: to Pan, born of Penelope (the Hellenes give to her and Mercury the title of parents to Pan), the years are not so many as to the beginning of the Trojan war; that is to say, about eight hundred years at my time. Of these two systems, every one is at liberty to adopt that of either nation to whom he gives the greater credit: I have therefore put down what my own opinion on these matters is; for if these gods had been known in Hellas, and had lived to old age in that country, I mean Hercules, begotten of Amphit[illegible] and especially Bacchus the son of Semele, and Pan, born by Penelope, any one might say, that, although they were mortal men, they bore the names of the gods long extant before their time. Now the Hellenes affirm, that Bacchus, immediately after his first coming into existence, was sewed up in Jupiter's thigh, and conveyed by that god to Nysa, a place in Ethiopia, situate above Egypt: as to Pan, they do not pretend even to say whither he was taken to at his birth. Hence, therefore, I have come to the conclusion, that the Hellenes obtained information of their names some time after those of the rest of the gods; and that from that epocha the Hellenes reckon by the genealogies the dates of the births of these gods. This accordingly is agreeable to what the Egyptians themselves say.

What both the Egyptians and other nations agree to have occurred in this country, will be the subject-matter of the following part of this History; to which will be added some things from my own personal observation. The Egyptians having become independent, after the reign of the priest of Vulcan, established (for they could not live a moment without a king) twelve kings, and divided Egypt into twelve

parts. These twelve kings connected themselves by intermarriages, and entered into the following stipulations; that they should not destroy the kingdoms of one another, nor should any one endeavour to get more than another, and that they should all keep on the most friendly terms: the reason which induced them to adopt the above resolutions among one another, was, to fortify themselves strongly. At the very beginning of their accession to the different governments, it was declared by the oracle, "that, of the twelve he who should in Vulcan's temple make a libation from a brazen cup would be king of all Egypt;" for they were wont to hold general assemblies at all the temples. Accordingly, they determined upon leaving, in common, a monument of themselves; and, agreeably to that resolution, caused a labyrinth to be built a little above the lake of Mœris, and not far from the town called the City of the Crocodiles. This edifice, which exceeds all powers of description, I have myself seen; for it is such, that if one could collect together all the Hellenic edifices, all the works they have wrought, the collection would be evidently inferior, as respects the labour employed, and the expense incurred. The temple of Ephesus is undoubtedly magnificent, and so is that at Samos: the Pyramids likewise were noble structures, each equal to many of the mighty works achieved by the Hellenes put together: but the labyrinth beats the Pyramids themselves. The labyrinth consists of twelve court-yards, surrounded by piazzas; two opposite doors constitute the entrances, six looking to the north six to the south, all in line: one and the same wall on the outside closes in the twelve courts. In the interior are two sorts of rooms, those underground, and those above, the latter raised upon the former: they are three thousand in number, fifteen hundred of each kind. I myself passed therefore through, and saw the upper apartments, which I describe from ocular inspection. I was obliged, however, to confine my acquaintance with the subterranean parts to the information I could get by inquiry; for the Egyptians appointed over the labyrinth would not shew me these apartments by any means, alleging, that in those places were deposited the relics of the monarchs who erected the edifice, and those of the sacred

crocodiles. Thus what I say of the lower apartments is taken from hearsay; but all about the upper parts is from actual observation, and I consider them the noblest works of men: for the passages leading out through the piazzas, and the paths across the courts, so varied in their windings, present very many wonders to those that pass by the court to the chambers, and from the chambers to the porches, and from the porches to other piazzas, and other courts from the chambers: all these have a roof of stone: the walls are of the same materials, but full of carved figures. Round every court-yard is a colonnade of white stones, nicely joined. At the extremity of the labyrinth rises a pyramid, forty orgyæ high, on which some gigantic figures are carved: the way into this pyramid is by a subterranean passage.

A still greater wonder than this labyrinth even is seen in its vicinity: I mean the lake of Mœris; the circuit of which comprises three thousand six hundred stades, or sixty schœnes, a number equal to the length of Egypt on the sea-side. This lake stretches, in its length, from north to south; its depth, where it is deepest, is forty orgyæ: there can be no doubt that it was excavated by hand; for about the middle stands two pyramids, each rising fifty orgyæ above the surface of the water, with a foundation to the same depth under water: on both is placed a stone colossus, seated on a throne. These pyramids have therefore one hundred orgyæ in total height, which are exactly equal to one stade of six plethra; for the orgya measures six feet or four cubits, each foot being equal to four palms, and the cubit to six. The waters of this lake are not the spontaneous produce of the soil, which is particularly dry in this quarter: they come from the Nile by means of a canal; and flow six months from the Nile into the lake, and six months from the lake into the Nile: during the six months from the time that the stream begins to flow out, the lake brings in to the royal exchequer one silver talent daily, on the fish; but at the other times, the daily contribution is only twenty minæ. The people belonging to that country told me, also, that this lake discharges its waters into the Libyan Syrtis, by an underground tunnel, running westward into the interior, along the

mountain above Memphis. As no mound was to be seen resulting from this excavation, a fact which struck me forcibly, I inquired of the people that reside nearest to the borders of the lake where the ground thrown up was to be found: they informed me, that it was carried away; and I readily gave credit to them: for I had heard that in Niniveh, the Assyrian town, a similar thing had taken place. Some thieves determined to make an attempt to carry off the riches of Sardanapalus, king of Niniveh, which were considerable, and deposited in underground treasuries: they accordingly commenced in their own houses, and opened a mine leading direct to the palace: every night they conveyed away the mould proceeding from the excavation, and cast it into the river Tigris, which passes by the city of Niniveh; and this they continued to do, until they had compassed their object. I now heard a similar account respecting the excavation of the Egyptian lake; with the exception, that it took place by day, and not by night: for the Egyptians, after making their excavations, carried the matters thrown up to the Nile, which seized the deposit, and presently dispersed it abroad. Such, therefore, was the manner in which this lake, it is reported, was dug out.

The twelve kings, however, conducted their governments with justice, until the time when they met to offer sacrifice in Vulcan's temple: on the last day of the festival, as they were about to make libations, the high priest brought them golden beakers, which they were wont to use in this ceremony, but made a mistake in the number, bringing eleven only for the twelve. Thereupon Psammitichus, who stood last of all, seeing that he had no beaker, doffed his brazen helmet, stretched it out to receive the wine, and made his libation: all the rest of the kings wore helmets, and at this time had them on. Psammitichus accordingly stretched out his helmet with no sinister motive; but the rest took into consideration what Psammitichus had done, and how the oracle pronounced to them that he who should make a libation from a brass beaker would be sole king of Egypt: reminded of the oracle, however, they could not, in justice, decree death to Psammitichus, being convinced, on their inquiry, that the deed was not pur-

posely committed; but decided to banish him to the marshes, after divesting him of the greatest part of his power. It was added, also, that he should never come out of the marshes, to have any communication with the rest of Egypt.

This Psammitichus had fled into Syria previous to the retreat of Sabacus the Ethiopian, who had put to death his father Neco; and, after the Ethiopian, in consequence of his dream, had withdrawn from the throne, was brought back by the Egyptians belonging to the Saïtic nome. Some time after, being appointed one of the kings, he was thus once more compelled, by the eleven kings, to fly to the marshes. Feeling, therefore, that he had been wronged by his colleagues, he contemplated revenge on his persecutors; and sent to the shrine of Latona at Buto, where the most veracious oracles are received by the Egyptians. The answer of the oracle was, that vengeance would come when men of brass appeared rising from the sea: but Psammitichus was loth to give credit to brass men ever being his coadjutors. Not long after, however, some Ionians and Carians, who had embarked for purposes of piracy, compelled by necessity to bear away for Egypt, came on shore, clad in brass armour: an Egyptian (who had never before beheld men accoutred in brass) went to Psammitichus in the marshes, and reported, that some brass men had come from the sea, and were plundering the country. Psammitichus, seeing that the oracle was thus fulfilled, made friends with the Ionians and Carians; and having recourse to great promises, brought them over to join with him. Having effected this, he accordingly, with such Egyptians as volunteered in his service, and these auxiliaries, dethroned the eleven kings.

Psammitichus having reduced all Egypt under his dominion, erected the porch of Vulcan at Memphis which looks to the south; and built for Apis a court, where he is fed whenever he appears: it stands opposite the porch, is surrounded with a piazza, and covered with emblems: colossal statues, twelve cubits high, instead of pillars, support the piazza of the court. This prince gave to the Ionians, and those who had assisted him, some lands to occupy, on opposite banks of the Nile: to these two tracts of land he as-

signed the names of camps; and, accordingly, not only presented them with land for their subsistence, but fulfilled all the other promises he had made them. Among other things, especially, he entrusted to the care of these aliens some of the sons of the Egyptians, to be taught the Hellenic tongue; and from these pupils descend the present interpreters in Egypt.

The Ionians and Carians remained for a long time in those quarters, which extend along the seashore, a short distance below the city of Bubastis, on the Pelusiac mouth, as it is called, of the Nile. These colonists were subsequently transferred from hence, and settled at Memphis, where they served as a body-guard to king Amasis against the Egyptians. From the period of the settlement of these people in Egypt, the Hellenes have kept up with them such a close connexion, that we know for certain, beginning from the reign of Psammitichus, every occurrence that has since taken place in Egypt; for these Ionians and Carians are the first persons speaking a foreign tongue that settled in Egypt. Down to my day, the dock for ships, and the ruins of houses, were still seen in the country, from whence they were transplanted. Such was therefore the manner in which Psammitichus obtained possession of Egypt.

I have already made frequent mention of the Egyptian oracle; but shall here extend my remarks on this subject; for it well deserves distinction. The holy precinct of Latona, situate in a large town, presents itself to your view, when you sail up from the sea by the mouth called the Lebennytic mouth of the Nile: the name of the city, where this shrine stands, is Buto, as I have before observed. Within this city are seen not only the precincts sacred to Apollo and Diana, but the temple likewise of Latona, in which, accordingly, the oracle is located: it is of considerable extent, and the front portico rises to the height of ten orgyæ: but what struck me as the most marvellous of all, that was to be seen at this place, was, the temple of Latona itself, made, length and height, of one single block of stone: the sides are all equal, each dimension measuring forty cubits: the roof consists of another flat stone, the eaves of which project beyond the walls, on every side, by four cubits. This edifice, therefore, is the

most admirable of all the things that are to be seen about this precinct: the next to this is an island called Chemmis: it lies in a deep and broad lake, close by the holy precinct in Buto, and is said by the Egyptians to float. I myself, however, never saw it swim or move, and was struck with astonishment when I heard of the existence of floating islands. In this one, accordingly, is seen a large temple of Apollo: here, also, three altars have been erected: palm-trees grow in abundance in this island, as well as many other fruit-bearing and forest trees.

The Egyptians give the following explanation of the floating properties of this island: that Latona, one of the eight gods first existent, and who resided at Buto, where her oracle stands, saved Apollo, whom she had received from Isis as a sacred deposit, by concealing him in this island, now said to float, but in early days known to be fixed. This happened at the time that Typhon, searching on all sides, came in the expectation of finding the son of Osiris. For the Egyptians assert, that Apollo and Diana were the offspring of Bacchus and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and saviour: for Orus is the Egyptian for Apollo, and Isis for Ceres, and Bubastis for Diana. From this tradition, and none other, Æschylus the son of Euphorion adopted the following tenet, in which he is singular among the earlier poets; that Diana is the daughter of Ceres.[1] In consequence of the event described above, this island was made to float. Such is the account the Egyptians give.

Psammitichus occupied the throne of Egypt fifty-four years; during twenty-nine of which, that prince besieged Azotus, a large town in Syria, which he at last captured. This town of Azotus is that, which, of all we know, stood the most protracted siege. Necos was a son of Psammitichus, and succeeded to the throne of Egypt. This prince was the first that began the canal leading to the Erythræan sea; an undertaking which Darius the Persian, in later times, continued.

The length of this cut is a voyage of four days: its

[1] This must have been in a play now lost.

breadth is made such, that two triremes may pull abreast: the waters that feed this canal come from the Nile: it begins a little above the city of Bubastis, and ends in the Erythræan sea, not far from the Arabïan town of Patumos. This work was dug first through the parts of the Egyptian plain that are contiguous to Arabia: above the plain rises the mountain that stretches down to Memphis, in which the quarries are. Accordingly, at the foot of this mountain the canal takes a long reach, from the west to the east; then stretches to the defiles; from whence, taking its course towards the south, it proceeds to the Gulf of Arabia. The shortest way from the Mediterranean sea, to the southern, called also the Erythræan, is from Mount Casius, the frontier of Egypt and Syria, whence to the Gulf of Arabia is one thousand stades: the above is the most direct road; but the canal is considerably longer, inasmuch as it is more winding. One hundred and ten thousand Egyptian delvers perished on this undertaking, during Necos's reign: that prince, therefore, ceased in the middle of the work, in consequence of an oracle, that came warning him that "he was working for an alien;" for the Egyptians call every body aliens who do not use the same language as themselves. But Necos having put a stop to his excavations, turned his attention to war: triremes were constructed; some on the shore of the Mediterranean; others on the gulf of Arabia, which is a part of the Erythræan sea: the docks for the ships are still seen: these fleets were ready for use whenever required. Necos engaged by land the Syrian forces near Magdolus, and conquered: after the battle, he took Cadytis, a large city of Syria. The garb worn by the king in these achievements was sent to Branchidæ in Milesia, and dedicated to Apollo. He died sometime after, having reigned, in all, sixteen years; and bequeathed the throne to his son Psammis.

Under the reign of Psammis, a deputation from the people of Elis arrived; boasting that they had established the Olympic lists on the most equitable and fairest principles in the world; and fancying that the Egyptians, the wisest of mankind, would be unable to devise any thing better. The deputies of Elis, on their arrival in Egypt, explained for what

purpose they had come: in consequence, the king convened those esteemed the wisest of the Egyptians. The assembly met, and heard the ambassadors describe all the regulations respecting the lists which they had thought proper to make: after explaining every particular, the Eleans declared they had come to ascertain, "whether the Egyptians could devise any improvement in these institutes." The Egyptians held council; and asked the Eleans, whether their fellow-citizens were allowed to contend in the games: the deputies made answer, that the lists were open to any of themselves or the Hellenes, who chose. In consequence, the Egyptians observed: "that, enacting such rules, they swerved wide of every thing like justice: for it could not be otherwise than that they would give the preference to their own citizen, and so do an injustice to a stranger; but that if they really wished to found just laws, they would advise them to institute the games for candidates of other cities, and exclude from the list every citizen of Elis." Such was the admonition the Egyptians ministered to the people of Elis.

Psammis, having reigned alone six years, died immediately after an attack on Ethiopia: he was succeeded by his son Apries, who, next to his great-grandfather, Psammitichus, was the most prosperous of former sovereigns, during a reign of five-and-twenty years; in the course of which he marched his army against Sidon, and engaged the Tyrian king by sea. As he was, however, doomed to be visited with calamity, this came to pass on an occasion that I shall describe more largely in my Libyan History, but shall now touch lightly upon. Apries having sent an expedition against the Cyrenæans, met with a sore defeat. The Egyptians attributing the blame to the king, rebelled against him; being convinced that Apries, in furtherance of his own views, had sent them to evident destruction, in order that such a destruction of them should take place, as would enable him to reign undisturbed over the rest of the nation. Highly exasperated, at this, the men that escaped from the rout, and the friends of the slain, openly rebelled.

Apries, informed of what had occurred, sent Amasis to the insurgents, who was to repress the sedition by per-

suasives. On his arrival, he endeavoured to appease the Egyptians, exhorting them not to behave in that manner; when one of the insurgents, standing behind him, put an helmet on the speaker's head, saying, "that he crowned him as their king:" this was not very repugnant to the wishes of Amasis himself, as he plainly shewed; for the insurgents having appointed him king of the Egyptians, he prepared to march against Apries. But Apries, informed of his intention, despatched Patarbemis, one of his suite, and a man of great repute, with orders to bring before him Amasis alive. At the arrival of Patarbemis, he called Amasis; but Amasis (who happened to be then mounted) lifted up his thigh, and broke wind, and bade the messenger take that back to Apries: nevertheless, as Patarbemis begged him to come before the king, who had sent for him, Amasis answered him thus: "He had long been preparing to do that very thing; and that Apries should have no cause to blame him, for he would forthwith make his appearance, bringing others in his train."

Patarbemis, fully apprised of the intention of Amasis, both from what had been said, and the preparations he himself saw making, hastened to take his departure, for the purpose of communicating, as speedily as possible, to the king, tidings of what was going on: but, as he presented himself before Apries unaccompanied by Amasis, the king, without taking time to deliberate, and excited by anger, ordered the ears and nose of Patarbemis to be cut off. The rest of the Egyptians who still adhered to the king's cause, witnesses of the shameful treatment of so distinguished a fellow-citizen, hesitated not an instant, but forthwith went over to the insurgents, and gave their allegiance to Amasis. Apries, informed of this, placed his auxiliaries under arms, and led them against the Egyptians: his army amounted to thirty thousand auxiliaries, made up of Carians and Ionians; and his palace was in the city of Saïs, a vast and admirable structure. Apries' party took the field against the Egyptians, while that of Amasis marched against the auxiliaries: they both met near the town of Momemphis, and prepared for the conflict.

The Egyptians are divided into seven classes: these are respectively called, priests, soldiers, herdsmen, swineherds,

tradesmen, interpreters, pilots: such are the Egyptian classes: their names are derived from their professions. The military are called either Calasires or Hermotybies: they belong to the following nomes—for the whole of Egypt is divided into nomes: the following are the nomes of the Hermotybies: Busirites, Saïtes, Chemmites, Papremites, the island of Prosopitis, the half of Natho: to the above nomes the Hermotybies belong: they amount at the highest to one hundred and sixty thousand: none of these is ever apprenticed to any handycraft, but are all devoted to war. The Calasires belong to the other following nomes: Thebais, Bubastites, Aphthites, Tanites, Mendesius, Sebennytes, Athribites, Pharbæthites, Thmuïtes; Onuphites Anysius, Myecphorites—this nome consists of a part of the island lying off the city of Butis: the above are the nomes to which the Calasires belong: they amount, at the highest, to two hundred and fifty thousand: none of these are allowed to apply to any trade, but to military pursuits alone; the son inheriting his father's calling. Whether the Hellenes borrowed this custom likewise from the Egyptians, is a question which I cannot describe for certain, inasmuch as I see Thracians, Scythians, Persians, Lydians, and nearly all foreigners, esteem as a lower class of their fellow-citizens such persons as profess any handycraft trade and transmit it to their posterity; while those who keep aloof from trade are esteemed noble; such, above all, as distinguish themselves in war. These principles are instilled among all the Hellenes, and the Lacedæmonians especially: the Corinthians are the people that shew the greatest respect for mechanics.

With the exception of the priests, the military are the only Egyptians entitled to any privileges: to each of this class are awarded twelve choice arouras of ground: the aroura, throughout Egypt, is equal to one hundred cubits, the Egyptian cubit being the same as that of Samos: this privilege extended to all, without discrimination: the following perquisites, they participate in turn, never the same as before. One thousand Calasires, and the same number of Hermotybies, were appointed as body-guards every year to the king: to these, besides the lands above mentioned, the following largess was given

every day; to each man, five minæ of roasted corn, two minæ of beef, four arysters of wine.

After the arrival of Apries near Momemphis, at the head of the auxiliaries, and Amasis at the head of all the Egyptians, the two parties engaged battle: the auxiliaries behaved gallantly: they were, however, far inferior in numbers, and consequently defeated. Apries is represented as being convinced that even a god might not dethrone him, so firmly did he conceive himself seated: but in this battle he was beaten: taken prisoner, he was conveyed back to Saïs, to his former palace, now that of Amasis: here, for some time, he was kept at the palace, and Amasis treated him very kindly: but at last, the Egyptians blaming Amasis for such unjust behaviour, in thus cherishing the greatest enemy both of themselves and himself, he delivered Apries up to them, who put him to death by strangulation, and then interred him in his paternal tombs. These receptacles are in Minerva's precinct, close to the temple, on the left hand as you enter: the Saïtæ are wont to bury all kings, born in their nome, within this precinct; for the monument of Amasis is seen there at a greater distance from the temple than the tombs of Apries and his forefathers. In the sacred quadrangle stands a great hall, adorned with pillars made to imitate palm-trees, and decked with various embellishments: within the hall stands a niche, with folding-doors, within which is the sepulchre.

At Saïs, also, is seen, in Minerva's precinct, the depositary of one whose name I do not hold it lawful to mention in this matter: it stands behind the temple, and occupies the whole of that wall of the sacred building: large stone obelisks are found in the precinct; near which is a pond adorned with a border of stone-work; it is in shape circular, and, as far as I can judge, is about the size of that of Delos, called the trochoïd. of him mentioned above:[1] this spectacle is called the mysteries, On this sheet of water the Egyptians represent the adventures by the Egyptians; concerning which, although informed of every detail, I shall hold a decent silence; as well as what con-

[1] That is to say, of him whose name Herodotus has just informed us he does not think himself at liberty to divulge.

cerns the initiation of Ceres, called by the Hellenes the thesmophoria; which I am well acquainted with, but shall withhold describing, excepting so far as it may be lawful to speak of it. It was the daughters of Danaus that imported this ceremony of the initiation, and communicated the same to the Pelasgian women: in subsequent times, the whole of Peloponnesus being reft of its former occupants by the Dorians, these rites became extinct, except with the Arcadians, the only Peloponnesians that remained and preserved their remembrance.

Apries thus cut off, Amasis ascended the throne: he belonged to the Saïtic nome, and was a native of the town called Siuph. At first, accordingly, the Egyptians slighted Amasis, and held him in little account, as having been previously nothing but a private man, and of no very distinguished family: Amasis, however, soon brought them over to him, by his skill and affability. Of the many precious things that he possessed there was a golden foot-bason, in which Amasis himself, and all his guests, were wont to wash their feet: accordingly, he broke up this vase, had it converted into an image of the god, and set it up in the most prominent part of the city. The Egyptians, crowding round the image, devoutly worshipped it. Amasis, hearing how the citizens acted, called a meeting of the Egyptians, and explained to them, "that the image had been made out of the foot-bason in which the Egyptians were wont to vomit, to make water, and to wash their feet; and now it had become a special object of their adoration." He added, "that he himself now had undergone the same change as the foot-bason; for previously he was but a private man, whereas at present he was their king:" and he then proceeded to exhort them to honour and respect him: in this manner he brought the Egyptians to brook his rule. He adopted the following arrangement in his affairs: from the dawn of day, to the usual time when the public square is full of people, he applied closely to the affairs brought before him: the remainder of the day he passed drinking and joking with his guests, throwing aside all thought and abandoning himself to fun and frolic. His friends, displeased at this behaviour, remonstrated with him, in these words: "My liege," said they, "you do not hold restraint enough on yourself; and debase your rank by such levity. It behoves

you to sit venerated on your venerated throne; and attend through the day to affairs: thus the Egyptians might be convinced they are ruled by a great man, and you yourself obtain more repute: your conduct now is in no manner kingly." His answer to this was: "They who make use of bows are wont to brace them when they wish to shoot; but unbrace them, when they have done: for were the bow to remain constantly strung, it would surely snap; and so the archer would not be able to use it, in case of need. Such is the case with man: were he to be incessantly engaged in serious business, nor abandon himself sometimes to sport and pastime, he would gradually become either mad or stupid: this I know, and allot, accordingly, a portion of my time to both." Such was the answer he returned to his friends.

Amasis is represented, when a private man, as a giddy youth given to drink and mockery: when the means failed him to drink and carouse, he went about pilfering. The persons who accused him of having their property, were wont, in consequence of his denial, to bring him before the oracle that happened to be in their neighbourhood: in many instances, he was convicted by the oracles; in others, he escaped: in consequence of this, when he came to the throne, he acted in the following manner: of all such gods as absolved him of theft, he neglected their temples, and contributed nothing to their repairs; neither did he present sacrifice in them, considering them unworthy of any remuneration, and having false oracles: such as declared him guilty of theft, he attended to with the greatest care, as being truly gods, and proffering true answers.

In the temple of Minerva at Saïs, he erected a wonderful portico, far surpassing all, in height and size, as well as in the bulk and quality of the stones: he likewise dedicated, not only large colossuses and huge sphinxes,[1] but also brought, to repair the sacred edifice, stone blocks of extraordinary dimensions: some of these he took from the quarries in the vicinity of Memphis; but the largest blocks of all came from Elephantine, a

[1] Monstrous figures, which had the body of a lion and the face of a man. The Egyptian artists represented commonly the sphinx with the body of a lion and the face of a young woman.

place twenty days' voyage from Saïs. But of all these masses, that which struck me with the greatest astonishment was a chamber brought from Elephantine, and hewn out of one single block of stone: this enormous mass occupied three years in its conveyance; two thousand men, all belonging to the caste of the pilots, being specially appointed for that purpose. The length of this chamber is, on the outside, twenty-one cubits; its breadth, fourteen; its height, eight. Such are the dimensions of this chamber, measured on the outside: in the inside, they are, in length, eighteen cubits; breadth, twelve; height, five. This stone chamber lies near the entrance into the precinct: the reason why it was not drawn into the sacred inclosure is stated to have been, that the architect, wearied by the labour, seeing what a long time had been taken up, breathed a sigh as the chamber moved forward. Amasis, considering the sigh ominous, forbad the stone to be drawn any further: but others say, that one of the workmen employed at the levers was crushed beneath the mass, and consequently the chamber was not moved any further. Amasis dedicated, in all the renowned temples, works of gigantic size: at Memphis, in particular, he dedicated, in front of Vulcan's temple, a colossus, reclining on his back, seventy-five feet long: on the same base stand two colossuses of Ethiopian stone, each twenty feet high; one on one side, and the other on the other side of the temple. There is at Saïs a similar colossus, lying, as at Memphis, on the back. It was Amasis also who erected at Memphis the temple to Isis, a vast edifice, deserving to be seen.

Under the reign of Amasis, Egypt, it is said, enjoyed the greatest prosperity, both in regard to the advantages accruing to the land from the river, and to mankind from the land; the towns in that period amounted to twenty thousand, all inhabited. Amasis it was that gave to the Egyptians the law, that every year each Egyptian should make known to the governor of his nome,[1] from whence he got his living: if he failed to do so, and could not produce an honest livelihood, he was condemned to death. Solon the Athenian borrowed this law from Egypt, and

[1] The provinces of Egypt were called Nomes, and the governor, or chief magistrate of each of those provinces, a Nomarch.

instituted it at Athens: that nation still observes this law as an excellent enactment. Amasis, being fond of the Hellenes, not only conferred various favours to different persons of that nation, but gave to the Hellenes, that came into Egypt, the town of Naucratis for their residence: to such as did not wish to settle in the country, but carry on traffic with Egypt, he bestowed places where they might erect altars and precincts to their gods.

The most extensive of these holy precincts, and the most renowned and frequented, was the Hellenium: it was erected at the common cost of the following states: of the Ionians, Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ; of the Dorian, Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; of the Æolians, the Mytilenæans alone: to the above cities this sacred precinct belongs, and they appoint the presidents of the factory. Whatever other cities may claim a share, claim what is not their own. The Æginetæ, however, have erected a temple to Jupiter, apart to themselves: the Samians have done the same to Juno; and the Milesians to Apollo. Originally, Naucratis was the only factory; there was no other in Egypt: if any one arrived at another mouth of the Nile, he was obliged to take an oath, "that he did not enter of his own accord:" and having done so, he was to proceed round to the Canobic mouth: in the case only of contrary winds impeding navigation, the cargo was to be conveyed, in barises, round the Delta, until it reached Naucratis. Such was the privilege bestowed to Naucratis. The Amphictyons having entered into a contract to build, for three hundred talents, the temple now standing at Delphi—for the former one had been burnt down accidentally, and the Delphians were taxed to furnish one quarter of the costs—the people of Delphi undertook a begging excursion to different places, from which they obtained subscriptions: in this way they brought from Egypt a very great contribution: for Amasis gave them a thousand talents of alum; and the Hellenic settlers contributed, on their part, twenty minæ.

Amasis contracted a league of friendship and alliance with the Cyrenæans: he determined, also, to take a wife from thence; —whether he desired to unite himself to an Hellenic lady, or wished to give thus a proof of his attachment to the Cryenæans.

He espoused, therefore, the daughter of Battus; some say, Arcesilaus; others also Critobulus, a respectable citizen: the lady's name was Ladice. When Amasis lay with his bride, he found himself unable to consummate, although he could enjoy other women: this had lasted a considerable time, when Amasis sent for Ladice herself, and addressed her thus: "Ladice, you have used some charm upon me, and now you have no means of escaping the most miserable death of all women." Amasis, in spite of all Ladice said in her defence, relaxed not his stern intention: the princess prayed mentally to Venus, that Amasis might be gratified that night, which would be the only preventive of the calamity that awaited her, and vowed she would send to the goddess an image at Cyrene: immediately she had made this vow, Amasis was made happy: his happiness continued, and his affection for his consort increased. Ladice fulfilled her vow to the goddess: she ordered the image to be made, and sent it off to Cyrene; where it remained safe and sound to my time, with its back turned to Cyrene. Cambyses, after his conquest of Egypt, when he discovered who Ladice was, sent her back, unhurt, to Cyrene. Amasis dedicated offerings in Hellas: first, a gilt statue of Minerva at Cyrene, and his own portrait painted: secondly, at Lindus, two stone statues to Pallas, together with an admirable corset of linen: he dedicated, moreover, to Juno, at Samos, two wooden images of himself, which stood to my days in the great temple behind the doors: those dedications at Samos he made out of regard for the compact of friendship entered into between himself and Polycrates the son of Ajax: the dedication at Lindus was not in consequence of any similar compact, but because it was related that the daughters of Danaus, in their flight from the sons of Ægyptus, having touched at Lindus, founded there the temple of Minerva: such were the dedications of Amasis. He was the first that ever conquered Cyprus, and subjected that island to tribute.

THUCYDIDES

HISTORY

OF THE

PELOPONNESIAN WAR

FROM 431 TO 427 B. C.

TRANSLATED BY

WILLIAM SMITH, A.M., D.D.

RECTOR OF THE HOLY TRINITY IN CHESTER, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE SAME

ON THE

LIFE OF THUCYDIDES

AND HIS

QUALIFICATIONS AS AN HISTORIAN

INTRODUCTIONS

LIFE OF THUCYDIDES

THUCYDIDES, an Athenian, by borough a Halymusian, was born in the year before Christ four hundred and seventy-one; twenty years after Hellanicus,[1] thirteen after Herodotus, and about three years before Socrates. He was descended of a very splendid and noble family, though perhaps not so honourable as many others, since it was not purely Attic. Its splendour can no longer be doubted, when it is known to be the family of Miltiades. Miltiades the elder, born a citizen of Athens, had reigned over the Dolonci, a people in Thrace; and left vast possessions in that country to his descendants: and Miltiades the younger had married Hegesipyle the daughter of Olorus, a Thracian king. Yet foreign blood, though royal, was always thought to debase the Athenian. The firm republicans of Athens had an hereditary aversion to every circumstance of royalty and the polite inhabitants of it abhorred all connexions with Barbarians, the scornful title they gave to all the rest of the world, except their countrymen of Greece. Iphicrates, a famous Athenian in later times, was the son of an Athenian shoemaker and a Thracian princess. Yet, being asked to which of his parents he thought himself most obliged, he replied haughtily—"To my mother. She did all she could to make me an Athenian; my father would have made me a Barbarian." The younger Miltiades whom wars had obliged to quit his hold in Thrace, commanded the troops of Athens in the famous field of Marathon. He died afterwards in a jail, unable to pay a large fine set upon him by the people of Athens. His son Cimon contrived afterwards to pay it. The family for a time had been in poverty and distress, but emerged

[1] A native of Mitylene in Lesbos, born B.C. 490. He lived till the age of eighty-five. In the course of his long life he wrote many works on genealogy, chorography, and chronology, of which only fragments remain.

again in Cimon. Cimon the same day gained a victory both by land and sea over the Persians at Mycale. By his conduct he very much enlarged the power of Athens, and put it in a train of much greater advancement. In civil affairs he clashed with Pericles, who was leader of the popular party: Cimon always sided with the noble or the few; as were the party-distinctions in vogue at Athens.

The proofs that Thucydides was of this family are strong and convincing. Plutarch directly asserts it in the life of Cimon. His father, in grateful at least if not honourable remembrance of the Thracian king, whose daughter Miltiades had married, bore the name of Olorus. His mother also was another Hegesipyle. He inherited rich possessions in Thrace; particularly some mines of gold. A monument of him was to be seen for many ages after, in the Cœle at Athens, amongst the Cimonian, or those belonging to the family of Cimon; and stood next, according to Plutarch, to that of Elpinice, Cimon's own sister. His father's name in the inscription on this monument, at least some latter grammarians have averred it, was Olorus. Thucydides himself, in the fourth book of his history, calls it Orolus. Can we want stronger authority? Whether any stress ought to be laid on the variation, or whence the mistake, though a very minute one, might proceed, are points too obscure and trifling to take up any attention.

Such was the family of which Thucydides was descended. His pedigree might be fetched from the gods; since that of Miltiades is traced down from Æacus. But, like my author, I should choose to keep as clear of the fabulous as possible. Cicero says of him, "Though he had never written a history, his name would still have been extant, he was so honourable and noble."[1] I quote this, merely as a testimony to the splendour of his birth, since it may be questioned whether the historian, in the present instance, hath not entirely preserved his memory, and been solely instrumental in ennobling and perpetuating the man.

His education no doubt was such as might be expected

[1] In the Orator.

from the splendour of his birth, the opulence of his family, and the good taste then prevailing in Athens, the politest city that then existed, or ever yet existed in the world. It is impossible however to give any detail of it. The very little to be found about it in writers of any class whatever, seems merely of a presumptuous though probable kind. It is said Anaxagoras was his preceptor in philosophy, because the name of Anaxagoras was great at this period of time. Anaxagoras, the preceptor of Euripides, of Pericles, and of Socrates, is named also by Marcellinus for the preceptor of Thucydides. And he adds, quoting Antyllus for an evidence, that "it was whispered about that Thucydides was atheistical, because he was so fond of the theory of Anaxagoras, who was generally reputed and styled an atheist." The solution of an eclipse from natural causes accounting for appearances from the laws of motion, and investigating the course of nature, were sufficient proofs of atheism amongst a people so superstitious as the Athenians. Thucydides, possibly, might be well acquainted with the philosophy of Anaxagoras, without having personally attended his lectures. However that be, his own history abundantly shows that he was no atheist; it may be added, and no polytheist. By his manner of speaking of the oracles and predictions tossed about in his own time, it is plain he looked upon them as equivocal, or rather insinuates them to be mere forgeries. "And yet," says Mr. Hobbes,[1] "he confirms an assertion of his own touching the time this war lasted, by the oracle's prediction." The passage occurs in the fifth book of this history. But whoever considers it, will find it only an *argumentum ad hominem,* to stop the mouths of such as believed in oracles, from contesting his own computation of the whole time the Peloponnesian war lasted. I can only say, that he was undoubtedly a serious man, and of a large fund of solid sense, which deriving originally from the bounty of nature, he had most certainly improved by a regular and sound education.

For a reason of much less weight, Antipho is assigned for his master in rhetoric—because he speaks handsomely of him

[1] Of the Life and History of Thucydides.

in the eighth book. He there indeed pays due acknowledgement to the merit of Antipho as a speaker; but it cannot be inferred from hence, that he had ever any connection with him. Others have made Antipho a scholar of Thucydides,[1] with full as little reason. Thucydides certainly was never a teacher by profession. It is pity to waste so much time on uncertainties. It is certain Thucydides had a liberal education, though the particular progress of it cannot now be traced.

But, to show the peculiar bent of his genius, and a remarkable prognostic what sort of person he would prove, the following story is recorded by several authors, and dated by Mr. Dodwell in the fifteenth year of his age.—His father carried him to the Olympic games. He there heard Herodotus read his history to the great crowd of Grecians assembled at that solemnity. He heard him with fixed attention; and, at length, burst out into tears. "Tears childish indeed," it hath been remarked, but however such as few children would have shed, and highly expressive of his inward spirit. The active aspiring mind of Themistocles was not stronger shown, when the trophy of Miltiades would not let him be at rest; nor the genius of the lad at Westminster-school, when he could not sleep for the colours in Westminster-hall. Herodotus is said to have obesrved it, and to have complimented Olorus on his having a son, that had so violent a bent to letters. A similar passage in any person's life would always be called to mind, when he was the subject of conversation.

In about two years more, Thucydides was obliged by the laws to take his exercise in the study of arms, and to begin to share in the defence of his country. Every citizen of Athens was also a soldier. They served at first within the walls, or on great emergencies marched, though to no great distance from home. As years and skill advanced, they were called upon to join in more distant and foreign expeditions. We are quite in the dark about the particular services in which he might thus be employed. We are sure at least he much improved in the theory of arms. He qualified himself for

[1] Plutarch'h Lives of the Ten Orators.

the great trust of heading the forces of the state; and, in the sequel, we shall see him invested with a command.

The anonymous author of his life relates, that Thucydides was one of the number, whom the Athenians sent to found a colony at Thuria in Italy. Lampo and Xenocritus were the leaders of this colony, and Herodotus is said to have been associated in it. If Thucydides went the voyage (and the strange inconsistencies of him who relates it render his whole account suspicious,) he must have been about twenty-seven years of age. One thing is pretty certain; his stay at Thuria could have been of no very long continuance. This is not to be inferred from the ostracism, which the same writer says he soon after suffered; a mistake incurred, it is highly probable, by confounding him with Thucydides the son of Milesias, who was of the same family, and being a leader in the oligarchical party at Athens, had the ostracism thrown upon him by the interest and popularity of Pericles. But the quarrel between the Corcyreans and Corinthians about Epidamnus broke out soon after this. The enemies of Athens were now scheming the demolition of its growing power. Thucydides writes all the preparatory transactions, marks all the defensive measures of the Athenians, as a person who was privy to every one of them. And there should be very strong and very positive proofs of the contrary, before any reader of his history doubts of his having been all the time at Athens.

His own Introduction, of itself in a great measure establishes the fact. He perceived the storm was gathering; he knew the jealousies of the states which composed the Lacedemonian league; he also knew the real strength of Athens, and heard all the preventive measures recommended by Pericles to put his countrymen in a proper posture of defence. He himself seems to have been alert for the contention, and ready both with lance and pen, not only to bear his share in the events, but also to perpetuate the memory of them. He longed to become an historian; he saw a fine subject for history fast approaching; he immediately set about noting all occurrences, began at once to collect materials; and was resolved to write the History of the Peloponnesian War before it was actually on foot.

Can we doubt then of his residence during this portion of time at Athens? He was arrived, at the breaking out of this war, to the full vigour and ripeness of his years and understanding, being, according to his chronologist, Mr. Dodwell, just forty years old. We learn from himself,[1] that he knew personally the whole series of things; he was ever present at the transactions of one or other of the contending parties; more, after his exile at those of the Peloponnesians; and consequently, before his exile, at those of the Athenians. He speaks of Pericles, as one who was an eye-witness of his conduct; as one who heard him harangue in the assembly of the people, convincing that a war there would necessarily be, and for that reason they ought not to weaken themselves by ill-judged concessions, but gallantly to exert that naval power which had made Athens envied and dreaded, and which alone, as it had made, could keep her great. He must regularly have taken his post upon the walls, and seen the Peloponnesians, in the first year of the war, lay all the adjacent country waste. He must have marched under Pericles to retaliate on the territories of Megara, since the whole force of the state was obliged to take the field on this occasion. He must have assisted at the public funeral solemnized in the winter for the first victims of this war, and heard Pericles speak in honour of the dead and the living, and make his countrymen enamoured of their own laws and constitution. The plague broke out immediately after this; we are absolutely certain he was then in Athens. He himself assures us of it. He was an eye-witness to all that horrid scene. He had the plague himself; and hath given a circumstantial detail of it.

The war proceeds with vigour, and through a great variety of events. Thucydides must have borne his share in the service; the particulars he hath not recorded. No man was ever less guilty of egotism; he never mentions himself but when it is absolutely necessary. His next six years were certainly employed in fighting and in writing; the latter was his passion, and the former his duty. In the forty-seventh year of his age, he was joined in the command of an Athenian squad-

[1] Book the fifth.

ron and land-force on the coasts of Thrace. He might be assigned to this particular station, on account of his possessions and interest in this part of the world. It was judged at Athens, that he was best qualified to serve his country in this department. The Lacedemonian commander in Thrace dreaded his opposition.

It was Brasidas the Spartan, who was now at the head of the Peloponnesian troops in Thrace. He had made a forced march thither through Thessaly and Macedonia. By his fine deportment and his persuasive address joined to uncommon vigilance and activity, he had hitherto carried all before him. He at length endeavoured to get possession by surprise of the important city of Amphipolis: he had very nearly succeeded. Eucles commanded there for the Athenians. Thucydides was at this time in the isle of Thasus, about half a day's sail from Amphipolis. A messenger was despatched to him, to hasten him up for the defence of the city. He put to sea immediately with a small squadron of seven ships. Brasidas, knowing he was coming, opened a negotiation with the Amphipolitans, and gained admission for his troops. Thucydides stood up the Strymon in the evening, but too late, since Brasidas had got fast possession of Amphipolis. The city of Eion is situated also upon the river Strymon lower down, and about two miles and a half from Amphipolis. Thucydides put in here, and secured the place. "Brasidas (in his own words[1]) had designed that very night to seize Eion also. And, unless this squadron had come in thus critically to its defence, at break of day it had been lost." Thucydides, without losing a moment, provided for its defence. Brasidas, with armed boats, fell down the river from Amphipolis, and made two attempts upon it, but was repulsed in both: upon which, he gave up the scheme, and returned back.

One would imagine that Thucydides had done all that could be done on this occasion, and deserved to be thanked instead of punished. The people of Athens made a different determination. Cleon was now the demagogue of greatest influence there, and is generally supposed to have exasperated

[1] Book the fourth.

them against the man who had not wrought impossibilities in saving their valuable town of Amphipolis. It is certain their fury rose so high against him, that they stripped Thucydides of his command, and passed the sentence of banishment upon him. It is himself who tells us,[1] "It was his lot to suffer a twenty years' exile from his country after the affair of Amphipolis."

We have thus lost Thucydides the commander to secure more fast Thucydides the historian. Though sadly treated, he scorned to be angry with his country. His complexion was not at all choleric or resentful; there appears not the least sign of any gall in his constitution. Discharged of all duties and free from all public avocations, he was left without any attachments but to simple truth, and proceeded to qualify himself for commemorating exploits, in which he could have no share. He was now eight and forty years old, and entirely at leisure to attend to the grand point of his ambition, that of writing the history of the present war; a calm spectator of facts, and dispassionate observer of the events he was determined to record.

"Exile, according to Plutarch,[2] is a blessing which the Muses bestow upon their favourites. By this means they enable them to complete their most beautiful and noble compositions." He then quotes our author for the first proof of his observation—"Thucydides the Athenian compiled his history of the Peloponnesian war at Scaptesyle in Thrace." At that place he fixed his residence. It lay convenient for taking care of his private affairs and overlooking his mines: they lay not within the dominions of Athens; for then they would have been forfeited to the state. Hence he made excursions at proper seasons to observe transactions, and pick up intelligence. He was now more conversant in person on the Peloponnesian side. Some private correspondences he might still carry on with Athenians. And he had money to purchase all proper materials, was ready, and knew how to lay it out. This was his employment till the very end of the war; and it is certain he collected materials for carrying down his history to

[1] Book the fifth. [2] Of Banishment.

that period of time "when (in his own words[1]) the Lacedemonians and their allies put an end to the empire of Athens, and became masters of the Long Wall and the Piræus." But whoever reads it, will be inclined to think, that he drew it not up in that accurate and elaborate manner in which it now appears, till the war was finished. He might keep every thing by him in the form of annals; he might go on altering or correcting, as he saw better reason or gained more light. His complete well-connected history, though the first thing in his intention, was the last in execution.

His exile lasted twenty years. It commenced in the eighth year of the war, in the year before Christ four hundred twenty-three. Consequently, he was restored the year before Christ four hundred and three, being at that time sixty-eight years old. In that very year an amnesty was published at Athens, in the archonship of Euclides, after the demolition of the thirty tyrants by Thrasybulus.

Thucydides was now at liberty, if he pleased, to return and pass the remainder of his days at Athens. Whether he did so or not, is left quite in the dark. He lived twelve years after, and died in the year before Christ three hundred ninety-one, being then about fourscore years old. He was constantly employed in giving coherence and dignity to this History;—with what accuracy, what severity, what toil, the reader may judge, since he will find that after all he left it imperfect. The first seven books are indeed fully and exactly finished. The eighth, though moulded into due form, hath plainly not had a final revisal, and breaks off abruptly. The whole work is said to have fallen into Xenophon's possession, who at the time of the death of Thucydides, was exiled from Athens: and Xenophon is also said to have made it public. This carries a great air of probability with it, since Xenophon became the continuator of Thucydides, not in so lofty and majestic, but in a sweeter and more popular style. There is a chasm indeed between the time the History of Thucydides breaks off, and the Grecian History of Xenophon begins. There is no accounting for this but by conjecture. May I venture to

[1] Book the fifth.

offer one, I believe, entirely new, but which, for that reason, I shall readily give up to the first person of judgment, who thinks it hath no foundation? It is this—That Thucydides left somewhat more behind him than now appears. How it came to be suppressed or lost, I will not pretend to guess. It is natural to imagine, that his acknowledged continuator resumed the subject at the very spot where his predecessor had left off. Nearly two years are however wanting, in which several important incidents took place. It is pity; but we have no redress. General historians are by other means enabled to supply the deficiency; but the loss of any thing from so masterly a hand is still to be regretted.

The place of the death and interment of Thucydides was most probably Scaptesyle in Thrace. Long habitude might have made him fond of a spot where he had passed so many years in studious and calm retirement. The hurry and bustle and engagements of Athens could not have been much to the relish of so grave, and now so old a man. His monument there among the Cimonian confirms this opinion, since most writers agree, it had the mark upon it which showed it to be a cenotaph, and the words, 'Here lieth,' were not in the inscription.[1] I have nothing to add about his family. It is said he left a son; but the very name of that son is merely conjectural. I have collected every thing that carries any consistency with it about the Man; I shall proceed with more pleasure to view him in a clearer and more steady light, and mark the character in which it was his ambition to be distinguished, that of an Historian.

THUCYDIDES AS AN HISTORIAN

It is now to be considered, how well qualified Thucydides was, to undertake that nice and arduous task of writing history.—No one certainly was ever better fitted for it by outward circumstances; and very few so enabled to perform it well by the inward abilities of genius and understanding.

Lucian, in his celebrated treatise "How a History ought to be written," is generally supposed to have had his eye fixed on

[1] Marcellinus.

Thucydides. And every person of judgment, who loves a sincere relation of things, would be glad, if it were possible, to have the writer of them abstracted from all kind of connection with persons or things that are the subject-matter; to be of no country, no party; clear of all passions; independent in every light; entirely unconcerned who is pleased or displeased with what he writes; the servant only of reason and truth.

Sift Thucydides carefully, and we shall find his qualifications in all these respects very nearly, if not quite, complete.

No connection with, no favouring or malevolent bias towards, any one person in the world, can be fixed upon him. Never man so entirely detached, or proceeded so far (if I may use the expression) in annihilating himself. What friend doth he commend? or, what enemy doth he reproach?—Brasidas was the immediate occasion of his disgrace and exile. Yet, how doth he describe him? He makes the most candid acknowledgments of his personal merit, and doth justice to all his shining and superior abilities. Cleon is generally supposed to have irritated the people against him, and to have got him most severely punished, when he merited much better returns from his country. Doth he show the least grudge or resentment against this Cleon? He represents him indeed in his real character of a factious demagogue, an incendiary, a bully, and of course an arrant coward. And how do all other writers? how doth Aristophanes paint this worthless man, this false bellowing patriot? Thucydides never so much as drops an insinuation that he was hurt by Cleon. And thus, by general consent, he hath gained immortal honour by giving fair and true representations of men, whom he never felt to be such, but whom succeeding writers have assured us to have actually been his enemies.—As to things; though in the first seven years of the war he must in some measure have had employment, yet he was soon disentangled from all business whatever, in a manner which bore hard upon his reputation. He hath stated the fact; and then with the greatest calmness and unconcern, he hath left the decision to posterity.

He was henceforth of no country at all. Cut off from the republic of Athens, he never sought after or desired a naturalization in any other state of Greece. He was now only to choose

out and fix a proper spot of observation, from whence, like a person securely posted on a promontory, he could look calmly on the storm that was raging or the battle that was fighting below, could note every incident, distinguish every turn, and with a philosophical tranquility enjoy it all. In short, he now was, and continued all the rest of the Peloponnesian war, a citizen of the world at large, as much as any man ever actually was.

Mr. Hobbes imagines he hath dived to the bottom of the real principles of Thucydides, and avers him a tight and sound royalist. He is sure, that he least of all liked the democracy: as sure, he was not at all fond of an oligarchy. He founds his assurance on a passage in the eighth book—"They decreed the supreme power to be vested in the five thousand, which number to consist of all such citizens as were enrolled for the heavy armour, and that no one should receive a salary."—Thucydides just after pronounceth this, in his own opinion, "a good modelling of their government, a fine temper between the few and the many, and which enabled Athens from the low estate into which her affairs were plunged to re-erect her head." If this passage proves any thing of the author's principles, it certainly proves them in a pretty strong degree republican. Mr. Hobbes, however, sets out from hence to prove him a royalist. "For," says he, "he commendeth the government of Athens more, both when Pisistratus reigned (saving that it was an usurped power,) and when in the beginning of this war it was democratical in name, but in effect monarchical under Pericles." He praiseth, it is true, the administration at both these periods; and he also praiseth the good effects resulting from an adminstration lodged in the hands of five thousand men. Under Pericles it was lodged in more, but the extraordinary abilities and influence of the man had taught all their voices to follow the dictates of his heart. Yet Pericles was all the time a strong republican, and owned his masters. Plutarch says, he never harangued them without praying beforehand, that "not a word might slip out of his mouth, that was not pertinent to the business in hand;" and that he never put on his armour to lead them out into the field, without saying to himself—"Remember, Pericles, you are going to command free

men and Grecians." I leave it to the reader, whether the principles of Thucydides can thus be discovered. It appears only, that he was always candid to a good administration, and might possibly think of government, as Mr. Pope has wrote:

> For modes of government let fools contest,
> That which is best administer'd is best.

That studied obscurity in which he hath veiled himself, will not let us discover, whether on instant and critical occasions he ever suffered himself to be actuated by any of the darker passions, or too fondly indulged those of a brighter cast. But it cannot be found from what he writes, that he hath praised any man from fondness, or even from gratitude, degraded any one through envy, or reproached any one with malice and ill-nature. The same will hold in regard to states or whole communities. Doth he ever censure the Athenians in the wrong place? or commend the Lacedemonians but in the right? Were his name expunged from the beginning of the whole work and the conclusions of the years, could any one guess to what state he had ever belonged, whether he was a Lacedemonian, a Corinthian, an Athenian, or a Sicilian, except from the purity of the Attic dialect in which he writes?

His unconcern about the opinions of a present generation, is strong and clear. It looks as if he thought they would scarce give him a reading, so little care had he taken to soothe or to amuse them. He had a greater aim than to be the author in vogue for a year. He hated contention, and scorned short-lived temporary applause. He threw himself on posterity. He appealed to the future world for the value of the present he had made them. The judgment of succeeding ages hath approved the compliment he thus made to their understandings. So long as there are truly great princes, able statesmen, sound politicians, politicians that do not rend asunder politics from good order and general happiness, he will meet with candid and grateful acknowledgments of his merit.

Other historians have sooner pleased, have more diffusively entertained. They have aimed more directly at the

passions, have more artificially and successfully struck at the imagination. Truth in its severity, and reason in its robust and manly state, are all the Muses and Graces to which Thucydides hath done obedience. Can we wonder, that he hath not been more generally read and admired? or, could we wonder, if he had not been so much? A great work planned under such circumstances and with such qualifications as I have been describing, cool serious judgment will always commend as a noble design, even though executed it may prove too cheerless to the more lively passions, its relish not sufficiently quick for the popular taste, or piquant enough to keep the appetite sharp and eager.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus hath exerted himself much on account of Thucydides; hath tried him by laws which have poetry rather than history for their object; and censures him for not delighting, when his profession was only to instruct. Mr. Hobbes has gallantly defended his author, and shown all the arguments of Dionysius to be impertinent, and to proceed from partiality and envy. I shall not repeat, it will suffice to refer the curious reader to what Mr. Hobbes hath written upon this topic. Thucydides hath also been censured in regard to the choice of his subject. Homer hath celebrated the Trojan war, and intermingled in his poems all the historic strokes of that and of preceding ages, enlivening and exalting every thing he touched. That splendid part of the Grecian history, in which his counrtymen resisted and triumphed over the very formidable arms of the Persian monarch, had already been recorded by Herodotus. Should Thucydides plunge back into dark and fabulous ages, and turn a mere legendary and romantic writer? He had, he could have, no subject equal to his ambition and his abilities, but the war which broke out in his own days, which he foresaw would prove extensive and important, when the efforts of her enemies would be vigorously exerted to pull down the power of Athens, to demolish that naval strength which gave her the sovereignty of the sea, and made her the dread and envy of her neighbours. Coolly therefore with my reason as an examiner of things, and warmly with my passion as an Englishman, I cannot but applaud his choice, who hath projected the soundest and best system of

English politics, so long before the constitution had existence; and hath left us fine lessons, such as his factious countrymen would not observe, how to support the dominion of the sea on which our glory is built, and on which our welfare entirely depends. In this light it is a most instructive and interesting history, and we may felicitate ourselves on the choice of Thucydides. I must not anticipate; Thucydides would have his readers pick out their own instructions. I can only add, that Thucydides is a favourite historian with the statesmen and patriots of Great Britain: this fits him also to be an historian for the people. Other nations have admired him, and I hope will continue to admire him, gratis: we are bound to thank him, and never to lose sight of that grand political scheme, formed by a Themistocles, and warmly and successfully pursued by an Aristides, a Cimon, and a Pericles; the swerving from which at Athens drew after it the loss of the sovereignty at sea, then sunk her into a petty state, and made her end at last in a mere academy, though most excellent in its kind.

From such considerations it will also follow, that the history of Thucydides is more useful than that of Livy; at least, that we have more reason to applaud the choice of the former. I design no comparison between these two historians. The performance of the Jesuit Rapin on that point is in general reading. Livy's history is certainly more august, more splendid, more amazing: I only insist that it is not more useful. And, though Livy be happier in his subject, this ought not to degrade Thucydides, who seized the only fine subject that could offer itself to him: in regard to him, it was either this or none at all. The parallel should be only drawn in regard to execution, where much hath been said on both sides, and the superiority still remains undecided.

This brings me to the inward abilities of genius and understanding, which capacitated my author to execute his work. His genius was certainly of the highest order: it was truly sublime. Here the critics unanimously applaud. In the arrangement of his matter he emulated Homer. In the grandeur of his thoughts and loftiness of his sense he copied Pindar. He is ever stately and majestic; his stateliness perhaps too formal, his majesty too severe. He wrote, as he thought, far

beyond an ordinary person. He thinks faster than he can utter: his sentences are full-stored with meaning; and his very words are sentences. Hence comes his obscurity. Where pure thought is the object, he connects too fast, nor is enough dilated for common apprehension. But this is not the case with the narrative part of his history, which is pithy, nervous, and succinct, yet plain, striking, and manly. He never flourishes, never plays upon words, never sinks into puerilities, never swells into bombast. It is a relation from the mouth of a very great man, whose chief characteristic is gravity. Others talk more ingenuously; others utter themselves with a more cheerful air; yet every one must attend to Thucydides, must hearken with serious and fixed attention, lest they lose a word, a weighty and important word, by which the whole story would be spoiled.

It is in his Orations, that he is most remarkably obscure. He might not be so in so high a degree to the apprehensions of mankind, when his history was first made public. The world was then used to hear continual harangues: no business of a public nature could be carried on without them. In his time, the speakers aimed entirely at strength and brevity. If they were not exceeding quick, the apprehensions of the Athenians would outstrip, or at least affect to outstrip, their utterance. They must think much, and yet leave much of what they had thought to the ready conception of the audience. An orator in the following history[1] calls them "Spectators of speeches." They affected to discern at the first glance; and without waiting for formal deduction and solemn inference, to be masters of the point as it were by intuition. The more copious and diffusive eloquence was the improvement of the next generation. But the most forcible orator that even Athens ever boasted, improved, if he did not quite learn, his peculiar manner from Thucydides. It was Demosthenes, who copied him in the close energy of his sentences, and the abrupt rapidity of his thoughts. Demosthenes is said to have transcribed him eight times over with his own hand: so diligently did he persevere to form an intimate acquaintance

[1] Cleon's speech in book the third.

with him, and habituate himself to his quick manner of conception, and to his close and rapid delivery. Cicero says however,[1] that "no rhetorician of Greece drew any thing from Thucydides. He hath indeed been praised by all; I own it; but, as a man who was an explainer of facts with prudence, severity, and gravity: not as a speaker at the bar, but an historical relater of wars. And therefore he was never numbered amongst the orators." Cicero learned nothing from him: he could not, neither in his own words "would he if he could." His talents were different; he was quite in all respects accomplished; he was eloquence itself. But Demosthenes—and can there be higher praise?—Demosthenes certainly loved and studied Thucydides, for whose perfection I am not arguing; I would only establish his character of loftiness and sublimity. Longinus[2] proposeth him as the model of true grandeur and exaltation in writing history.

I think no fair comparison can be made of him, except with the historians who are his countrymen, who like himself are original in their own way, and the first in their manner. These are only two, Herodotus and Xenophon. In point of life, Thucydides was junior a little to the former, and senior to the latter. In stateliness, grandeur, and majesty, he far surpasseth them both. The manner of Herodotus is graceful and manly; his address is engaging; he loves to tell a story; and, however fabulous or trifling that story, he will be heard with pleasure. The course of his history is clear and smooth, and yields a most cheerful prospect: that of Thucydides is deep, rapid, impetuous, and therefore very apt to be rough and muddy. You may clearly perceive the bottom of the one: but it is very hard to dive to the bottom of the other. Herodotus, like a master on the horn, can wind a lofty air, and without any harshness sink down into the lowest and mellowest notes. Thucydides sounds the trumpet; his blasts are sonorous and piercing, and they are all of the "martial strain."[3] Xenophon never pretends to grandeur; his character is a beautiful simplicity: he is sweeter than honey; he charms every

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[1] In the Orator.

[2] On the Sublime. Section 14.

[3] Cicero in the Orator.

ear; the Muses themselves could not sing sweeter than he hath wrote. Each beats and is beaten by the others in some particular points. Each hath his particular excellence: that of Herodotus is gracefulness; that of Thucydides, grandeur; and that of Xenophon, sweetness itself. If generals, and admirals, and statesmen, were to award the first rank, it would undoubtedly be given for Thucydides; if the calmer and more polite gentry, it would go for Herodotus; if all in general who can read or hear, Xenophon hath it all to nothing.

THUCYDIDES

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

INTRODUCTION

THUCYDIDES an Athenian hath compiled the history of the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, as managed by each of the contending parties. He began to write upon its first breaking out, from an expectation that it would prove important, and the most deserving regard of any that had ever happened. He grounded his conjecture on the earnestness of both the flourishing parties to make all necessary preparations for it; and he saw that all the rest of Greece was engaged on one side or the other, some joining immediately, and others intending soon to do it; for this was the greatest commotion that ever happened amongst the Grecians, since in it some Barbarians, and it may be said the greatest part of mankind, were concerned. The actions of an earlier date, and those still more ancient, cannot possibly, through length of time, be adequately known; yet, from all the lights which a search into the remotest times hath afforded me, I cannot think they were of any great importance, either in regard to the wars themselves, or any other considerations.

RIVALRY OF ATHENS AND SPARTA

LACEDEMON, ever since it came into the hands of the Dorians, in whose possession it still continueth, though harassed with seditions the longest of any place we know, yet hath ever been happy in a well regulated government, and hath always been exempt from tyrants; for, reckoning to the conclusion of this present war, it is somewhat more than four hundred years that the Lacedemonians have enjoyed the same polity. On this basis was their power at home founded, and this enabled them to exert it in regulating other states.—But, after that the tyrants were by them extirpated from Greece, not many years intervened before the battle of Marathon was fought by the

Medes against the Athenians; and in the tenth year after that, the Barbarian (Xerxes) again, with a vast armament, invaded Greece in order to enslave it. Hanging then on the very brink of ruin, the Lacedemonians, on account of their pre-eminent power, took the command of all the Greeks combined together in their own defence; whilst the Athenians, on the approach of the Medes, having already determined to abandon their city, and aid in their necessary stores, went on board their ships, and made head against him by sea. Having thus by their common efforts repulsed the Barbarian, the Grecians, not only those who revolted from the king, but those also who had combined together against him, were soon after divided among themselves, siding either in the Athenian, or in the Lacedemonian league; for the mastery appeared plainly to be in their hands, since these were the most powerful by land and those by sea. The agreement between the Athenians and Lacedemonians was but of short continuance; variance ensued; and they entered the lists of war one against another, each with the additional strength of their own respective allies: and hence, if any other Grecians quarrelled, they went over in parties to these as their principals. Insomuch that from the invasion of the Medes quite down to the breaking out of this war, one while striking up truces, another while at open war, either with one another or the confederates revolting from either league, they had provided themselves with all military stores, and much improved their skill by constant practice exercised in dangers.

As for the Lacedemonians, they gave law to their confederates without the heavy imposition of tributes. Their study was only to keep them well affected to themselves, by introducing the oligarchy among them. But the Athenians lorded it over theirs, having got in course of time the ships of all those who might oppose them, into their own hands, excepting the Chians and the Lesbians, and imposed on them a certain payment of tribute. And their own particular preparations for the present war were more ample than former times had known, even during the greatest vigour of their state and the most perfect harmony between them and their allies.

CIVIL WAR AT CORCYRA[1]

All these things ensued in the sequel of this war, which was carried on between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, after breaking the thirty years' truce concluded between them upon the reduction of Eubœa.

The reasons for which this truce was broke, and their course of variance, I have in the first place thought proper to write, that none may be at a loss about the origin of so momentous a war among the Grecians. The growth of the Athenian power I conceive to have been the truest occasion of it, though never openly avowed; the jealousy struck by it into the Lacedæmonians made the contest necessary. But the pretences, publicly alleged on either side for breaking the truce and declaring open war, shall now be related.

Epidamnus is a city on the right hand as you sail into the Ionian gulf: adjoining to it live the Barbarian Taulantii, a people of Illyria. The Corcyreans settled a Colony here, the leader of which was Phalius, the son of Heratoclides, a Corinthian by birth, of the lineage of Hercules, invited to the office out of the mother-city, according to the custom of ancient times: and beside this, some Corinthians and others of Doric descent joined themselves to this colony. In process of time, the city of the Epidamnians became great and populous. Yet, having been afterwards harassed with seditions of many years' continuance, they were brought very low (according to report) by war waged against them by the neighbouring Barbarians, and were deprived of the greatest share of their power. But the most recent event at Epidamnus before the present war was, that the people there had driven the nobles out of the city. These sheltering themselves amongst the Barbarians, began depredations on those who remained behind, both by land and sea. The Epidamnians of the place, suffering vastly from these depredations, despatched ambassadors to Corcyra as their mother-city, beseeching them, "Not to behold their destruction with eyes unconcerned, but to reconcile their exiles to them,

[1] The island of Corcyra is now known as Corfu. The Corcyreans were colonists from Corinth.

and to deliver them from this Barbarian war." The ambassadors, sitting down submissively in the temple of Juno, offered these supplications. But the Corcyreans refusing to receive them, sent them home again without effect. The Epidamnians, thus convinced that no redress could be had from Corcyra, and ignorant how to proceed in their present perplexities, sent to Delphos to inquire of the god, "Whether they should surrender their city to the Corinthians as their founders, and should seek security from their protection?" He answered, that "they should surrender and take them for their leaders." The Epidamnians, in pursuance of this oracle, arriving at Corinth, make there a tender of the colony, representing that "the leader of it had been at Corinth," and communicating the oracle; and farther entreated them "not to look on with eyes of unconcern till their destruction was completed, but to undertake their redress." The Corinthians granted them their protection from a regard to justice, imagining themselves to be no less interested in their colony than the Corcyreans. But they were also actuated by a hatred of the Corcyreans, from whom, though a colony of their own, they had received some contemptuous treatment: for they neither paid them the usual honour on their public solemnities, nor began with a Corinthian in the distribution of the sacrifices, which is always done by other colonies. This their contempt was founded as well on the sufficiency of their own wealth, in which at that time they equalled the richest of the Greeks, as on the superiority of their military force. Their insolence became greater in time with the enlargement of their navy, and they assumed glory to themselves in a naval character as succeeding the Phæacians in the possession of Corcyra. This was their chief incentive to furnish themselves with a naval strength, and in it they were by no means inconsiderable: for they were masters of a hundred and twenty triremes, when they began this war. Upon all these reasons the resentments of the Corinthians rising high against them, they undertook with pleasure the relief of Epidamnus; encouraging all who were so disposed, to go and settle there, and sending thither a garrison of Ambraciots and Leucanians and their own people. These marched by land to Apollonia, which is a colony of the Corinthians, from

a dread of the Corcyreans, lest they should have hindered their passage had they attempted it by sea.

As soon as the Corcyreans heard that the new inhabitants and garrison were got to Epidamnus, and that the colony was delivered into the hands of the Corinthians, they grew hot with indignation: and putting out immediately with twenty-five ships which were soon followed by another equipment, they commanded them "at their peril to receive their exiles:—for those who had been driven out of Epidamnus had already been at Corcyra, where, pointing to the sepulchres, and claiming the rights of consanguinity, they had entreated them to undertake their restoration:—"and to send away the garrison and new inhabitants which they had received from Corinth." The Epidamnians were quite deaf to these haughty commands. And upon this the Corcyreans, with a squadron of forty ships, accompanied by the exiles whom they pretended to restore, and an aid of Illyrians, began hostilities. Having blocked up the city, they made proclamation, "that all Epidamnians who were willing and the strangers might depart without molestation, or otherwise they should be treated as enemies." But this having no effect, the Corcyreans beset the place which is situated upon an isthmus, on all sides, in regular siege.

The Corinthians, upon the arrival of messengers from Epidamnus with an account of the siege, draw their forces together. They also gave public notice, "that a new colony was going to Epidamnus, into which all that would enter should have equal and like privileges with their predecessors; that, if any one was unwilling to set out immediately, and yet chose to have the benefit of the colony, he might deposit fifty Corinthian drachmas, and be excused his personal attendance." The number of those who entered for immediate transportation, and of those who deposited their money, was large. They sent farther to the Megareans, requesting a number of ships to enlarge their convoy, that their passage might not be obstructed by the Corcyreans, from whom they received a supply of eight, and four more from Pale of the Cephallenians. The same request was made to the Epidaurians, who sent five. A single ship joined them from Hermione; two

from Trœzene; ten from the Leucadians; and eight from the Ambraciots. Of the Thebans and Phliasians they requested money; of the Eleans, empty ships and money. And the number of ships fitted out by themselves amounted to thirty and three thousand heavy-armed.

When the Corcyreans were informed of these preparations, they went to Corinth, purposely accompanied by ambassadors from Lacedemon and Sicyon. There they charged the Corinthians "to fetch away their garrison and new settlement from Epidamnus, as having no manner of pretensions there: that, if they had any thing to allege to the contrary, they were willing to submit to a fair trial in Peloponnesus before such states as both sides should approve; and to whichever party the colony should be adjudged, by them it should be held." They also intimated "their readiness to refer the point in dispute to the oracle at Delphos;—war, in their own inclinations, they were quite against: but if it must be so, on their sides, (they said) mere necessity would prescribe the measure; and if thus compelled to do it, they should for assistance have recourse to friends not eligible indeed, but better able to serve them than such as they already had." The Corinthians answered, that "if they would withdraw their fleet and their Barbarians from before Epidamnus, they would then treat of an accommodation: but, till this was done, their honour would not suffer them to submit to a reference, whilst their friends were undergoing the miseries of a siege." The Corcyreans replied, that "if they would recall their people from Epidamnus, themselves also would do the like; but were ready further to agree, that both parties should remain in their present situation, under a suspension of arms, till the affair could be judicially determined."

The Corinthians were not only deaf to every proposal, but so soon as ever they had manned their ships and their allies were come up, despatching a herald beforehand to declare war against the Corcyreans, and then weighing anchor with a force of seventy-five ships and two thousand heavy-armed, they stretched away for Epidamnus to make head against the Corcyreans. The commanders of this fleet were Aristeus the son of Pellicas, Callicrates the son of Callias, and Timanor the

son of Timanthes; those of the land forces were Archotimus the son of Eurytimus, and Isarchidas the son of Isarchus.

When they were come up as far as Actium in the district of Anactorium, where standeth the temple of Apollo, in the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia, they were met by a herald despatched expressly in a row-boat by the Corcyreans, forbidding them "at their peril to proceed." But at the same time the Corcyreans were busied at home in manning their own ships, repairing such as were old to make them fit for service, and equipping the rest with the utmost expedition. When the herald brought back nothing pacific from the Corinthians, and their squadron was now completed to eighty ships (for they had had forty employed in the siege of Epidamnus), they sailed in quest of the enemy, and drawing up against them came to an engagement. The victory fell beyond dispute to the side of the Corcyreans, and fifteen ships of the Corinthians were utterly destroyed.

Their good fortune was such that on the very same day Epidamnus was surrendered to the besiegers upon a capitulation, by which "all the strangers in the place were to be sold for slaves, but the Corinthians to be detained prisoners at discretion."

After the engagement at sea, the Corcyreans having erected a trophy[1] upon Leucimna a promontory of Corcyra, put to death all the prisoners they had taken, except the Corinthians

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[1] This was constantly done by the Grecians upon a victory. Nay, when the victory was claimed on both sides, both sides erected trophies, of which several instances occur in Thucydides. The trophies for a victory at land were decked out with the arms they had taken; those for a victory at sea, with arms also and the shatters of the enemy's ships. "To demolish a trophy was looked on as unlawful, and a kind of sacrilege, because they were all consecrated to some deity; nor was it less a crime to pay divine adoration before them, or to repair them when decayed, as may be likewise observed of the Roman triumphal arches: this being the means to revive the memory of forgotten quarrels, and engage posterity to revenge the disgrace of their ancestors; for the same reason, those Grecians who first introduced the custom of erecting pillars for trophies, incurred a severe censure from the ages they lived in."—*Potter's Archæologia.*

whom they kept in chains. And after this, as the Corinthians and allies having been vanquished in fight were forced to retire within their own harbours, they were quite masters of all the adjacent sea; and, sailing first to Leucas, a colony of the Corinthians, they laid its territory waste; and then burned Cyllene, a dock of the Eleans, because they had supplied the Corinthians with ships and money. In this manner they continued masters of the sea a long time after their naval victory, and in their cruises very much annoyed the allies of the Corinthians. It was not until the beginning of the summer, that a check was given them by a fleet and land army, who were commissioned, in order to relieve their harassed allies, to station themselves at Actium and round the Chimerium of Thesprotis. There they lay, to cover Leucus and other places which were in friendship with them from the ravage of the enemy. The Corcyreans, upon this, with a naval and land force stationed themselves over-against them at Leucimna. But, neither party venturing out to attack the other, they lay quiet in their opposite stations the whole summer; and, on the approach of winter, both sides withdrew to their respective homes.

During the remainder of the year, after the engagement at sea, and all the following, the Corinthians, whose indignation was raised in this their war against the Corcyreans, were building new ships, and sparing neither labour nor cost to get a strong armament ready for sea, and sent throughout Peloponnesus and the other parts of Greece to hire marines into their service. The Corcyreans, hearing of these great preparations, were terribly alarmed, and with reason; for at that time they were in no alliance with any of the Grecians, nor comprehended either in the Athenian or Lacedæmonian league. And hence, they thought it quite expedient to go and sue for the alliance of the Athenians, and endeavour to obtain some succour from them. The Corinthians gaining intelligence of their design, despatched an embassy at the same time to Athens, instructed by any means to prevent the junction of the Athenians to the naval strength of the Corcyreans, which might hinder them from bringing this war to a successful

issue. The Athenians being met in general assembly, both embassies rose up to plead their own cause.

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The Athenians having heard both parties, met twice in full assembly on this occasion. At the first meeting they thought there was validity in the arguments of the Corinthians; but, at the second, they came to a different resolution—not indeed to form such an alliance with the Corcyreans as to have the same enemies and the same friends (for then, if the Corcyreans should summon them to join in an expedition against Corinth, their treaty with the Peloponnesians would be broke;) but an alliance merely defensive, for the reciprocal succour of one another, if either Corcyra or Athens, or any of their respective allies should be assaulted. A war with the Peloponnesians seemed to them unavoidable; and they had no mind to leave Corcyra, which had so great a naval force, for a prey to the Corinthians; but, to break them to the utmost of their power against one another, that upon occasion they might be the better able to war with the Corinthians, thus weakened to their hands, though joined by other states of Greece which had power at sea. At the same time that island appeared to them most conveniently situated in the passage to Italy and Sicily. Upon these motives the Athenians received the Corcyreans into their alliance: and, not long after the departure of the Corinthians, sent ten ships to their aid under the command of Lacedemonius the son of Cimon, Diotimus the son of Strombichus, and Proteas the son of Epicles. Their orders were, "by no means to engage the Corinthians, unless they stood against and endeavoured to make a descent at Corcyra, or any of its dependent places; if they did so, to resist them with all their efforts." These orders were given with a view of not infringing the treaty: and this their aid of shipping arriveth at Corcyra.

THE SEA-FIGHT AT CORCYRA

The Corinthians, when they had completed their preparations, set sail for Corcyra with a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships. Of these, ten belonged to the Eleans, twelve to the Megareans, ten to the Leucadians, twenty-seven to the Am-

braciots, one to the Anactorians, and the other ninety were their own. The quotas from the allied cities had each of them their respective commanders; but the Corinthian squadron was commanded by Xenoclides the son of Euthycles, with four colleagues. So soon as they were all assembled at that part of the continent which looks towards Corcyra, they set sail from Leucas, and arrive at the Chimerium in Thesprotis. A harbour openeth itself here, and above it is the city of Ephyre, at a distance from the sea, in Eleatis, a district of Thesprotis: near it is the outlet into the sea of the lake of Acherusia, into which the river Acheron, having run through Thesprotis, is at last received; from which also it deriveth its name. The river Thyamis also runneth here, dividing Thesprotis from Cestrine, and between these two rivers ariseth the cape of Chimerium. The Corinthians therefore arrive at this part of the continent, and fix their station there. But the Corcyreans so soon as ever advised of their sailing, having manned a hundred and ten ships, under the command of Miciades, Æsimides, and Eurybatus, took their station at one of those isles which are called the Sybota, accompanied by the ten Athenian ships. Their land-force was left at the promontory of Leucimna, with an aid of a thousand heavy-armed Zacynthians. The Corinthians had also ready upon the continent a numerous aid of barbarians: for the people on that coast ever continued their friends. When every thing was in order among the Corinthians, taking in provisions for three days, they weigh by night from Chimerium with a design to fight; and having sailed along till break of day, they discover the ships of the Corcyreans already out at sea, and advancing against them. When thus they had got a view of each other, both sides form into the order of battle. In the right wing of the Corcyreans were the Athenian ships; the rest of the fleet was all their own, ranged into three squadrons, each of which was respectively under the orders of the three commanders: in this manner was the order of the Corcyreans formed. In the right of the Corinthians were the ships of the Megareans and Ambraciots; in the centre the other allies in their several arrangements; the Corinthians formed the left wing themselves, as their ships were the best sailers, to oppose the Athenians and the right

of the Corcyreans. When the signal flags were hoisted on both sides, they ran together and began the engagement; both sides having stowed their decks with bodies of heavy-armed, with many further that drew the bow or tossed the javelin. Their preparations still retained something of the awkward manner of antiquity. The engagement was sharply carried on, yet without exertions of skill, and very much resembling a battle upon land. When they had laid one another close, they were not easily separated again, because of the number and hurry of the vessels. The greatest hope of victory was placed in the heavy-armed fighting on the decks, who fixed to their post engaged hand to hand, whilst their ships continued without any motion. They had no opportunity to make their charges and tacks, but fought it out by dint of strength and courage without any dexterity. The tumult was great on all sides, and the whole action full of disorder: in which the Athenian ships relieved the Corcyrean wherever they were pressed too hard, and did what they could to intimidate the enemy; but their commanders refrained from any direct attack, remembering with awe the orders of the Athenians. The right wing of the Corinthians suffered the most; for the Corcyreans with twenty ships, having put them to flight, chased them when dispersed to the continent, and continuing the pursuit to their very camp, landed immediately, where they set fire to their abandoned tents and carried off all the baggage: in this part therefore the Corinthians and their allies were vanquished, and the Corcyreans were plainly superior. But in the left, where the Corinthians personally engaged, they easily prevailed, as twenty ships of the Corcyreans, and those too from a number at first inferior, were gone off in the pursuit. But the Athenians, seeing the Corcyreans thus distressed, now came up to their support more openly than before, having hitherto refrained from any direct attack. And when the chase was clearly begun, and the Corinthians followed their success, then every one amongst them applied himself to action. There was no longer any time for discretion: Corinthians and Athenians were forced by absolute necessity to engage one another.

The chase being thus begun, the Corinthians towed not

after them the hulks of the vessels they had sunk, but turned all their attention to the men who were floating about, and cruized at large more to slaughter than take alive. And, having not yet discovered the defeat of their right, they slaughtered through ignorance their own friends. For the number of ships being large on either side, and covering a wide extent of sea, after the first confusion of the engagement they were not able easily to distinguish which were the victors or which the vanquished: since Grecians against Grecians had never at any time before engaged at sea with so large a number of vessels. But after the Corinthians had pursued the Corcyreans to land, they returned to look after their shattered vessels and their own dead. And most of these they took up and carried to Sybota, where also lay the land-force of their barbarian auxiliaries: this Sybota is a desert haven in Thesprotis. Having performed this duty, they gathered together again into a body and went in quest of the Corcyreans, who with those damaged vessels that yet could swim, and with all that had no damage, together with the Athenians, came out to meet them, fearing lest they might attempt to land upon their shore. It was now late in the day, and they had sung their pæan as going to attack, when on a sudden the Corinthians slackened their course, having descried a reinforcement of twenty sail coming up from Athens. This second squadron the Athenians had sent away to support the former ten, fearing (what really happened) lest the Corcyreans might be vanquished, and their own ten ships be too few for their support. The Corinthians, therefore, having got a view of them, and suspecting they came from Athens, and in a larger number than they yet discovered, began gradually to fall away. They were not yet descried by the Corcyreans (for the course kept them more out of their ken), who were surprised to see the Corinthians thus slacken their course, till some, who had gained a view, informed them that such ships are coming up, and then they also fell back themselves: for now it began to be dark, and the Corinthians being turned about had dissolved their order. In this manner they were separated from one another: and the naval engagement ended with the night.

The Corcyreans having recovered their station at Leu-

cymna, those twenty ships from Athens, under the command of Glauco the son of Leager, and Andocides the son of Leogoras, having passed through floating carcases and wrecks, came up to the station, not long after they had been descried. Yet the Corcyreans (for now it was night) were in great consternation lest they should be enemies: but they were soon known, and then came to an anchor.

Next morning the thirty Athenian ships, accompanied by such of the Corcyreans as were fit for sea, weighed away and made over for the haven at Sybota where the Corinthians lay, designing to try whether or no they would engage again. The Corinthians, putting their ships from off the shore and drawing up into order in the deeper water, remained there without advancing. They had no design or inclination to begin another engagement, as they were sensible of the junction of the fresh Athenian ships, and of the numerous difficulties with which they were beset, about the custody of the prisoners whom they had on board, and the want of necessary materials to repair their ships upon this desert coast. Their thoughts were more employed upon their return home, and the method to accomplish it, from the apprehension lest the Athenians, judging the league to be broke as they had come to blows, might obstruct their passage. For this reason they determined beforehand to despatch a boat with proper persons, though without the solemn protection of a herald, and so to sound their intentions. The message to be delivered was this:

"You are guilty of injustice, ye men of Athens, in beginning war and violating treaties: for you hinder us from taking due vengeance upon our enemies, by lifting up your arms against us. If you are certainly determined to hinder our course, either against Corcyra or any other place whither we are willing to go, and so violate treaties, take us first who are here in your power, and treat us as enemies."

The persons sent thus delivered their message: and the whole company of the Corcyreans who heard it, shouted out immediately to "apprehend and put them to death." But the Athenians returned this answer.

"We neither begin war, ye men of Peloponnesus, nor violate treaties. We are come hither auxiliaries to these Corcy-

reans our allies. If therefore you are desirous to sail to any other place, we hinder you not. But, if you go against Corcyra or any other place belonging to it, we shall endeavor to oppose you, to the utmost of our power."

Upon receiving this answer from the Athenians, the Corinthians prepared for their return home, and erected a trophy at Sybota on the continent. But the Corcyreans were employed in picking up the wrecks and bodies of the dead, driving towards them by favour of the tide and the wind, which blowing fresh the night before had scattered them all about; and, as if they too had the victory, erected an opposite trophy at Sybota in the island. The reasons upon which each side thus claimed the victory were these. The Corinthians erected a trophy, because they had the better of the engagement till night, and so were enabled to pick up most of the shatters and the dead; they had, further, taken a number of prisoners, not less than a thousand, and had disabled about seventy ships of the enemy.—The Corcyreans did the same: because they also had disabled about thirty; and, upon the coming up of the Athenians, had recovered all the wreck and dead bodies driving towards them; and because the Corinthians tacking about had retired from them the night before, so soon as they descried the Athenian ships; and when they came to offer them battle at Sybota, durst not come out against them. In this manner did both sides account themselves victorious.

The Corinthians, in their passage homewards, by stratagem seized Anactorium, which lieth in the mouth of the gulf of Ambracia. It belonged in common to the Corcyreans and themselves. They put it entirely into the hands of the Corinthian inhabitants, and then retired to their own home. Eight hundred of their Corcyrean prisoners who were slaves, they sold at public sale. Two hundred and fifty they reserved in safe custody, and treated them with extraordinary good usage, that after their ransom they might serve them in their design of gaining Corcyra: for the majority of them were persons of the greatest authority in that state. Thus, therefore, is Corcyra preserved in the war of the Corinthians; and the ships of the Athenians after such service left them. But this was the first ground of war to the Corinthians against the Athenians,

because they had assisted the Corcyreans in a naval engagement against themselves, who were in treaty with them.

THE COUNCIL AT SPARTA

The Lacedemonians, summoning to appear before them, not barely their allies, but whoever had any manner of charge to prefer against the Athenians, assembled in grand council, as usual, and commanded them to speak; others who were present laid open their respective complaints, but the Megareans preferred the largest accusations, in particular, that, "they had been prohibited the use of all the harbours in the Athenian dominions, and the market of Athens, contrary to the treaty." The Corinthians were the last who stood forth. Having first allowed sufficient time to others to exasperate the Lacedemonians, they preferred their own charge.

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To this effect the Corinthians spoke. And it happened, that at this very juncture an Athenian embassy was at Lacedemon, negotiating some other points; who, so soon as they were advertised of what had been said, judged it proper to demand an audience of the Lacedemonians. It was not their design to make the least reply to the accusations preferred against them by the complainant states, but in general to convince them, that "they ought not to form any sudden resolutions, but to consider matters with sedate deliberation." They were further desirous "to represent before them, the extensive power of their own state, to excite in the minds of the elder a recollection of those points they already knew, and to give the younger information in those of which they were ignorant;" concluding, that "such a representation might turn their attention more to pacific measures than military operations." Addressing themselves, therefore, to the Lacedemonians, they expressed their desire to speak in the present assembly, if leave could be obtained. An order of admittance being immediately sent them, they approached, and delivered themselves as followeth:

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These things were said by the Athenian embassy. And

when the Lacedemonians had thus heard the accusations of their allies against the Athenians, and what the Athenians had urged in their turn, ordering all parties to withdraw, they proceeded to serious consultation amongst themselves. The majority agreed in the opinion, that "the Athenians were already guilty of injustice, and that a war ought to be immediately declared." But Archidamus their king, esteemed a man of good understanding and temper, standing forth, expressed his own sentiments thus:

"I have learned myself by the experience of many wars, and I see many of you, ye Lacedemonians, as great proficients in years as I am, that no one should be fond of an enterprise because it is new, which is a vulgar weakness, judging it thence both advisable and safe. The war, which is at present the subject of your consultation, you will find, if examined discreetly, to bode a very long continuance. Against Peloponnesians, it is true, and borderers upon ourselves, we have ever a competent force in readiness, and by expeditious steps can advance against any of them. But against a people whose territories are far remote, who are further most expert in naval skill, who with all the expedients of war are most excellently provided, with wealth both private and public, with shipping, with horses, with arms, and with men, far beyond what any other state in Greece can singly pretend to; who, more than this, have numerous dependent states upon whom they levy tribute—where is the necessity sanguinely to wish for war against such a people? and wherein is our dependence, if thus unprepared we should declare it against them? Is it on our naval force? But in that we are inferior: and if to this we shall apply our care, and advance ourselves to an equality with them, why this will be a work of time. Or, is it on our wealth? In this we are yet much more deficient; and neither have it in any public fund, nor can readily raise it from private purses. But the confidence of some may perhaps be buoyed up with our superiority in arms and numbers, so that we may easily march into their territory and lay it waste: yet other territories, and of large extent, are subject to their power, and by sea they will import all necessary supplies. If, further, we tempt their dependents to a revolt, we shall want a naval

strength to support them in it, as the majority of them are seated upon islands. What therefore will be the event of this our war? For if we are unable either to overpower them at sea, or divert those revenues by which their navy is supported, we shall only by acting prejudice ourselves. And in such a situation to be forced to give it up will be a blemish on our honour; especially if we shall be thought to have been the authors of the breach. For let us not be puffed up with idle hope that this war must soon be over, if we can lay their territory waste; I have reason on better grounds to apprehend, that we shall leave it behind as a legacy to our children. It is by no means consistent with the spirit of Athenians either to be slaves to their soil, or, like unpractised soldiers, to shudder at a war. Nor again, on the other hand, am I so void of sensibility as to advise you to give up your confederates to their outrage, or wilfully to connive at their encroachments; but only not yet to have recourse to arms, to send ambassadors to prefer our complaints, without betraying too great an eagerness for war, or any tokens of pusillanimity. By pausing thus, we may get our own affairs in readiness, by augmenting our strength through an accession of allies, either Grecian or Barbarian, wheresoever we can procure supplies of ships or money. And the least room there cannot be for censure, when a people in the state we are in at present, exposed to all the guiles of the Athenians, endeavour to save themselves not merely by Grecian but even by Barbarian aid. And at the same time let us omit no resource within the reach of our own ability.

"If, indeed, upon our sending an embassy, they will hearken to reason, that will be the happiest for us all. If not; after two or three years' delay, then better provided, we may, if it be thought expedient, take the field against them. But in good time, perhaps, when they see our preparations and the intent of them clearly explained by our own declarations, they may make each requisite concession, before their territory is destroyed by ravage, and whilst yet they may save their property from utter devastation. Regard their territory, I beseech you, in no other light than as a hostage for their good behaviour, and the more firmly such the better may be its

ture. Of this we ought to be sparing as long as possible, that we drive them not into desperate fury, and render more unpracticable their defeat. For if, thus unprovided as we are, and worked up to anger by the instigations of our confederates, we at once begin this ravage, reflect whether we shall not taint its reputation, and the more embroil Peloponnesus; since accusations as well of states as private persons it is possible to clear away; but in a war, begun by general concurrence for the sake of a single party, which it is impossible to see how far it will extend, we cannot at pleasure desist, and preserve our honour..

"Let no one think it a mark of pusillanimity, that many as we are we do not rush immediately upon one single state. That state has as large a number of dependants who contribute to its support: and a war is not so much of arms as of money, by which arms are rendered of service; and the more so, when a landed power is contending against a naval. Be it therefore our earliest endeavour to provide amply for this, nor let us prematurely be too much fermented by the harangues of our allies. Let us, to whose account the event, whatever it be, will be principally charged—let us, with sedate deliberation, endeavour in some degree to foresee it; and be not in the least ashamed of that slow and dilatory temper for which the Corinthians so highly reproach you. For through too great precipitancy you will come more slowly to an end, because you set out without proper preparations. The state of which we are the constituents, hath ever been free and most celebrated by fame: and that reproach can at most be nothing but the inborn sedateness of our minds. By this we are distinguished, as the only people who never grow insolent with success, and who never are abject in adversity. And when again they invite us to hazardous attempts by uttering our praise, the delight of hearing must not raise our spirits above our judgment. If any, farther, endeavour to exasperate us by a flow of invective, we are not by that to be provoked the sooner to compliance. From tempers evenly balanced it is, that we are warm in the field of battle, and cool in the hours of debate: the former, because a sense of duty hath the greatest influence over a sedate disposition, and magnanimity the

keenest sense of shame: and good we are at debate, as our education is not polite enough to teach us a contempt of laws, and by its severity giveth us so much good sense as never to disregard them. We are not a people so impertinently wise, as to invalidate the preparations of our enemies by a plausible harangue, and then absurdly proceed to a contest; but we reckon the thoughts of our neighbours to be of a similar cast with our own, and that hazardous contingencies are not to be determined by a speech. We always presume that the projects of our enemies are judiciously planned, and then seriously prepare to defeat them. For we ought not to found our success upon the hope that they will certainly blunder in their conduct, but that we have omitted no proper step for our own security. We ought not to imagine, there is so mighty difference between man and man; but that he is the most accomplished who hath been regularly trained through a course of needful industry and toil.

"Such is the discipline which our fathers have handed down to us; and by adhering to it, we have reaped considerable advantages. Let us not forego it now, nor in a small portion of only one day precipitately determine a point wherein so many lives, so vast an expense, so many states, and so much honour, are at stake. But let us more leisurely proceed, which our power will warrant us in doing more easily than others. Despatch ambassadors to the Athenians concerning Potidæa; despatch them concerning the complaints our allies exhibit against them; and the sooner, as they have declared a readiness to submit to fair decisions. Against men who offer this we ought not to march before they are convicted of injustice. But, during this interval, get every thing in readiness for war. Your resolutions thus will be most wisely formed, and strike into your enemies the greatest dread."

Archidamus spoke thus. But Sthenelaidas, at that time one of the ephori, standing forth the last on this occasion, gave his opinion as followeth: ,

"The many words of the Athenians, for my part, I do not understand. They have been exceeding large in the praise of themselves; but as to the charge against them, that they injure our allies and Peloponnesus, they have made no reply. If,

in truth, they were formerly good against the Medes, but are now bad towards us, they deserve to be doubly punished; because, ceasing to be good, they are grown very bad. We continue the same persons both then and now; and shall not, if we are wise, pass over the injuries done to our allies, nor wait any longer to revenge them, since they are past waiting for their sufferings. But—other people, forsooth, have a great deal of wealth, and ships, and horses—we too have gallant allies, whom we ought not to betray to the Athenians, nor refer them to law and pleadings, since it was not by pleadings they were injured: but we ought, with all expedition and with all our strength, to seek revenge. How we ought to deliberate when we have been wronged, let no man pretend to inform me: it would have better become those who designed to commit such wrongs, to have deliberated a long time ago. Vote then the war, Lacedæmonians, with a spirit becoming Sparta. And neither suffer the Athenians to grow still greater, nor let us betray our own confederates; but, with the gods on our side, march out against these authors of injustice."

Having spoke thus, by virtue of his office as presiding in the college of ephori,[1] he put the question in the Lacedæmonian council. But, as they vote by voice and not by ballot, he said, "he could not amidst the shout distinguish the majority;" and, being desirous that each of them, by plainly declaring his opinion, might show they were more inclined to war, he proceeded thus—"To whomsoever of you, Lacedæmonians, the treaty appeareth broke, and the Athenians to be in the wrong, let him rise up and go thither," pointing out to them a certain place: "but whoever is of a contrary opinion, let him go yon-

[1] The college of Ephori (or inspectors) at Sparta consisted of five. They were annually elected by the people from their own body, and were designed to be checks upon the regal power. They never forgot the end of their institution, and, in fact quite lorded it over the kings. In a word, the whole administration was lodged in their hands, and the kings were never sovereigns but in the field at the head of their troops. One of the Ephori had the honour to give its style to the year, in the same manner as the first archon did at Athens.

der." They rose up and were divided; but a great majority was on that side which voted the treaty broke.

Upon this, calling in their confederates, they told them, "They had come to a resolution that the Athenians were guilty of injustice; but they were desirous to put it again to the vote in a general assembly of all their confederates, that by taking their measures in concert, they might briskly ply the war, if determined by common consent."

Matters being brought to this point, they departed to their respective homes, and the Athenian ambassadors, having ended their negotiations, staid not long behind. This decree of the Lacedæmonian council that "the treaty was broke," was passed in the fourteenth year of the treaty concluded for thirty years after the conquest of Eubœa. But the Lacedæmonians voted this treaty broke and a war necessary not so much out of regard to the arguments urged by their allies, as from their own jealousy of the growing power of the Athenians. They dreaded the advancement of that power, as they saw the greatest part of Greece was already in subjection to them.

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On these motives was formed the public resolution of the Lacedæmonians—that "the treaty was violated, and the Athenians were guilty of injustice." They had also sent to Delphi, to inquire of the god, "Whether their war would be successful." He is reported to have returned this answer, that "if they warred with all their might, they should at last be triumphant, and he himself would fight on their side, invoked or uninvoked."

They had now again summoned their confederates to attend, and designed to put it to a general ballot, "Whether the war should be undertaken?" The ambassadors from the several constituents of their alliance arrived, and assembled in one general council. Others made what declarations they pleased, the majority inveighing against the Athenians, and insisting upon war; but the Corinthians (who had beforehand requested every state apart to ballot for war), alarmed for Potidæa, lest for want of some speedy relief it might be utterly destroyed, being present also at this council, stood forth the last of all, and spoke to this effect: * * * *

"Since then war, considered in every light, appears honourable in regard to you, ye Lacedæmonians; since we, with united voices, encourage you to it, as most strongly requisite for our general and separate interests,—defer no longer to succour the Potidæans, Dorians by descent, and besieged by Ionians, (the reverse was formerly the case,) and to fetch again the liberty of others. The business will admit of no longer delay, when some already feel the blow; and others, if it once be known that we met here together, and durst not undertake our own defence, will in a very little time be sensible of the same. Reflect within yourselves, confederates, that affairs are come to extremities, that we have suggested the most advisable measures, and give your ballot for war. Be not terrified at its immediate dangers; but animate yourselves with the hope of a long lasting peace to be procured by it. For a peace produced by war is ever the most firm; but from tranquility and ease to be averse to war, can by no means abate or dissipate our danger. With this certain conclusion, that a state in Greece is started up into a tyrant, and aims indifferently at the liberty of us all, her arbitrary plan being partly executed and partly in agitation, let us rush against and at once pull her down. Then shall we pass the remainder of our lives exempt from dangers, and shall immediately recover liberty for those Grecians who are already enslaved."

In this manner the Corinthians spoke; and the Lacedæmonians, when they had heard them all deliver their several opinions, gave out the ballots to all the confederates that were present, in regular order, both to the greater and lesser states: and the greatest part of them balloted for war. But, though thus decreed, it was impossible for them, as they were quite unprepared, immediately to undertake it. It was agreed, therefore that "every state should get in readiness their several contingents, and no time to be lost." However in less than a year, every thing needful was amply provided: and, before its expiration, an irruption was made into Attica, and the war openly on foot. But even this interval was employed in sending embassies to Athens, charged with accusations, that

reasons strong as possible for making war might appear on their side, if those should meet with disregard.

THE ASSEMBLY AT ATHENS

The Athenians summoned an assembly, where every one was invited to deliver his opinion. They determined, after deliberate consultation on all the points in contest, to return one definite answer. Several others spoke on this occasion, and were divided in their sentiments; some insisting on the necessity of a war; others, that peace should not be obstructed by that decree, which ought to be repealed. At length Pericles, the son of Xantippus, standing forth, who was at that time the leading man at Athens, and a person of the greatest abilities both for action and debate, advised them thus:

* * * *

In this manner Pericles spoke; and the Athenians, judging that what he had advised was most for their interest, decreed in conformity to his exhortation. They returned a particular answer to the Lacedæmonians, according to his directions, nay in the very words of his motion; and in fine concluded—that "they would do nothing upon command, but were ready to submit the points in contest to a judicial determination, according to treaty, upon a fair and equal footing." Upon this, the ambassadors departed; and here all negotiations came to a conclusion.

Such were the pretexts and dissentions on both sides previous to the war, and which took their first rise from the business of Epidamnus and Corcyra. These however never interrupted their commercial dealings nor mutual intercourse, which still were carried on without the intervention of heralds, but not without suspicions. For such incidents manifestly tended to a rupture, and must infallibly end in war.

THE THEBAN ATTEMPT ON PLATÆA

In the very beginning of the spring[1]—a body of Thebans somewhat above three hundred, under the command of Pythangelus the son of Phylidas, and Diemporus the son of Onetoridas, two of the rulers of Bœotia, about the first sleep, got into Platæa of Bœotia with their arms, which place was then in alliance with the Athenians. They were induced to this attempt, and had the gates opened to them, by Nauclides and associates, citizens of Platæa, who had formed a design for the sake of aggrandizing themselves, to destroy all their fellow-citizens averse to their schemes, and to gain the city for the Thebans. But the affair was managed by Eurymachus, the son of Leontiades, a person of the greatest authority among the Thebans. For the Thebans, foreseeing a war unavoidable, had, even now while peace was actually subsisting and the war not yet declared, a strong desire to get possession of Platæa, which had been at eternal enmity with them. No regular watch was as yet kept in it, which was a means of facilitating their entrance. When they had gained admission, they drew themselves up in order of battle on the public forum, contrary to the scheme proposed by the conspirators, of marching immediately to the houses of their enemies, and putting them to the sword. Their own design was, publicly to offer some fair proposals, and gain the city by an amicable composition. With this view, their herald proclaimed aloud, that—"All who were willing to enter into league, according to the ancient custom of all Bœotians,[2] should come and join their arms with them." By this method they thought the city would easily be brought to an accommodation.

The Platæans, when they found that the Thebans were already got in and had surprised the town, being in great con-

[1] Before Christ 431.

[2] Bœotia was one large republic formed by the union of several little states. The sovereignty (as Thucydides informs us, book the fifth) was lodged in four councils, composed of deputies sent from every city in the union. These were the states general, and sat at Thebes, the principal city of Bœotia. Platæa had no share in this union, but was closely allied with and under the protection of Athens.

sternation, and thinking the enemy more numerous than they really were, for the night prevented a view of them, came soon to a composition; and accepting what terms they offered, made no resistance; especially as they found that violence was offered to no man. Yet, by means of the parley, they had discovered that the Thebans were few in number; and judged, should they venture an attack, they might easily overpower them:—for the bulk of the Platæans had not the least inclination to revolt from the Athenians. It was at length concluded, that this point should be attempted, after having conferred together, by digging through the partition walls of one another's houses, to avoid the suspicion which going through the streets might have occasioned. Then along the streets they arranged carriages without the oxen, to serve them instead of a rampart, and made a proper disposition for every thing necessary for immediate execution. When they had got every thing ready in the best manner they were able, watching till night began to vanish and the first dawn appear, they marched from their houses towards the Thebans, that they might fall upon them before the full light should embolden their resistance, and give them equal advantages in the fight, and that they might be more intimidated by being charged in the dark, and sensible of disadvantage from their ignorance of the city. The attack was immediately begun, and both sides soon came to action. The Thebans, when they found themselves thus circumvented, threw themselves into an oval, and wherever assaulted, prevented impression. Twice or thrice they beat them back with success; and when the assaults were again with a loud noise repeated, when the very women and menial servants were shouting and screaming from the houses all around, and throwing stones and tiles amongst them, incommoded further by the rain which had fallen plentiful that night, they were seized with fear, and abandoning their defence, fled in confusion about the city. The greatest part of them running in the dark and the dirt, knew not any of the passages by which they could get out, (for this affair happened upon the change of the moon,) and were pursued by men who, knowing them all, prevented their escape, so that many of them perished. The gates by which they entered, and which only had been opened,

one of the Platæans had barred fast by thrusting the point of a spear into the staple instead of a bolt, so that they could not possibly get out there. Thus pursued about the city, some of them got upon the walls, and threw themselves over, but most of these were killed by the fall; some of them found a gate unguarded, and a woman supplying them with a hatchet, they cut the bolt in pieces unperceived, though few only escaped by this means, for they were soon discovered. Others were separately slain in the different quarters of the city. But the greatest part, and chiefly those who had kept in a body, threw themselves into a great house contiguous to the walls, the doors of which happened to be open, imagining the doors of this house to be the city gates and a certain passage to a place of safety. When the Platæans saw them thus shut up, they consulted together, whether they should fire the house and burn them all in their inclosure, or reserve them for some other punishment. But at last these, and all the other Thebans yet surviving, who were scattered about the city, agreed to give up their arms, and surrender themselves to the Platæans prisoners at discretion. Such was the issue of this attempt on Platæa.

The other Thebans, who ought during night to have come up with all their strength, to reinforce the first body in case they miscarried, and were still upon the march, when the news of this defeat met them, advanced with all possible expedition. Platæa is distant from Thebes about seventy stadia,[1] and the rain which fell that night had retarded their march; for the river Asopus was so much swelled by it that it was not easily fordable. It was owing to the march in such a rain and the difficulty of passing this river, that they came not up till their men were either slain or made prisoners. When the Thebans were convinced of that event, they cast their attention towards the Platæans who were still without; for the people of Platæa were scattered about the adjacent country with their implements of husbandry, because annoyance in time of peace was quite unexpected. They were desirous to catch some of these as exchange for their own people within the city, if any were

[1] About seven English miles.

yet living and prisoners there. On this they were fully bent; but in the midst of their project the Platæans, who suspected the probability of some such design, and were anxious for their people yet without, despatched a herald to the Thebans representing to them "the injustice of the attempt already made; since, treaties subsisting, they had endeavoured to surprise the city;" and then warned them "to desist from any violence to those without. If not, they positively declared they would put all the prisoners yet alive to the sword; whereas, in case they retired peaceably out of their territory, they would deliver them up unhurt." This account the Thebans give, and say farther it was sworn to. The Platæans disown the promise of an immediate discharge of the prisoners, which was reserved for terms to be agreed on in a subsequent treaty, and flatly deny that they swore. The Thebans however retired out of their territory, without committing any violence. But the Platæans, when they had with expedition fetched into the city all their effects of value that were out in the fields, immediately put all their prisoners to the sword. The number of those that were taken was one hundred and eighty. Eurymachus was amongst them, with whom the traitors had concerted the surprise. And this done, they despatched a messenger to Athens: and restored to the Thebans their dead under truce. And then they regulated the affairs of the city in the manner most suitable to their present situation.

The news of the surprisal of Platæa had soon reached the Athenians, who immediately apprehended all the Bœotians then in Attica, and despatched a herald to Platæa with orders "to proceed no farther against the Theban prisoners, till they should send their determination about them;" for they were not yet informed of their having been actually put to death. The first messenger had been sent away immediately upon the irruption of the Thebans—the second so soon as they were defeated and made prisoners—as to what happened afterwards, they were utterly in the dark. Thus ignorant of what had since been done, the Athenians despatched away their herald, who upon his arrival found them all destroyed. Yet after this, the Athenians marching a body of troops to Platæa, carried thither all necessary provisions, left a garrison in the place, and

brought away all the hands that would be useless in a siege, with the women and children.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

After this business of Platæa, and so manifest a breach of peace, the Athenians made all necessary preparations for immediate war. The Lacedæmonians also and their confederates took the same measures. Nay, both sides were intent on despatching embassies to the king [of Persia][1] and to several other Barbarian powers, wherever they had hope of forming some effectual interest for themselves, and spared no pains to win those states over to their alliance, which had hitherto been independent. In the Lacedæmonian league, besides the ships already furnished out for them in Italy and Sicily, the confederates there were ordered to prepare a new quota, proportioned to the abilities of the several states, that the whole number of their shipping might be mounted to five hundred.—They were farther to get a certain sum of money in readiness; but in other respects to remain quiet, and till their preparations could be completed, never to admit more than one Athenian vessel at a time within their ports.—The Athenians made a careful survey of the strength of their own alliance, and sent pressing embassies to the places round about Peloponnesus, to Corcyra, to Cephallene, to the Acarnanians, and to Zacynthus; plainly seeing, that if these were in their interest, they might securely attack Peloponnesus on all sides.—The minds of both parties were not a little elated, but were eager after and big with war. For it is natural to man in the commencement of every important enterprise, to be more than usually alert. The young men, who were at this time numerous in Peloponnesus, numerous also at Athens, were for want of experience quite fond of the rupture. And all the rest of Greece stood attentively at gaze on this contention between the two principal states. Many oracles were tossed about, the soothsayers sung abundance of predictions, amongst those who were upon the point to break, and even in the cities that were yet neutral. Nay, Delos had been lately shook with an earthquake, which it

[1] Artaxerxes Longimanus.

had never been before in the memory of the Greeks. It was said, and indeed believed, that this was a prognostic of something extraordinary to happen: and all other accidents of an uncommon nature whatever were sure to be wrested to the same meaning.

The generality of Greece was indeed at this time much the best affected to the Lacedæmonians, who gave out the specious pretence, that "they were going to recover the liberty of Greece." Every one made it both his private passion and his public care, to give them all possible succour both in word and act; and every one thought that the business certainly flagged in those places where he himself was not present in invigorate proceedings. So general an invasion was there at this time formed against the Athenians, when some were passionately desirous to throw off their yoke, and others apprehensive of falling under their subjection.—With such preparations and such dispositions did they they run into the war. * * *

The Lacedæmonians, immediately after the attempt on Platæa, sent circular orders to the states both within and without Peloponnesus, to draw their quotas of aid together, and get every thing in readiness for a foreign expedition, as intending to invade Attica. When all was ready, they assembled on the day appointed, with two-thirds of the force of every state, at the Isthmus. When the whole army was thus[1] drawn together, Archidamus king of the Lacedæmonians, who commanded in the expedition, convened the commanders from all the auxiliary states, with all those that were in authority, and most fitting to be present, and addressed them as follows:

"Peloponnesians and allies, many are the expeditions in which our fathers have been engaged both within and without Peloponnesus. Even some of us, who are more advanced in years, are by no means unexperienced in the business of war. Yet, never before did we take the field with a force so great as the present. But, numerous and formidable in arms as we may now appear, we are however marching against a most powerful state. Thus it is incumbent upon us to show ourselves not

[1] Plutarch informs us that the number amounted to sixty thousand men.

inferior in valour to our fathers, nor to sink below the expectations of the world. The eyes of all Greece are fixed attentively on our motions.—Their good will to us, their hatred of the Athenians, make them wish for our success in all our undertakings. It is therefore our business, without placing too great confidence in superior numbers, or trusting to the presumption that our enemies dare not come out and fight us—for no reasons like these, to relax our discipline, or break the regularity of our march—but, the commander of every confederate body and every private soldier ought to keep within himself the constant expectation of being engaged in action. Uncertain are the turns of war; great events start up from a small beginning, and assaults are given from indignation. Nay, frequently an inferior number engaging with caution hath proved too hard for a more numerous body, whom contempt of their enemy exposeth to attacks for which they are not prepared. Upon hostile ground, it is always the duty of soldiers to be resolutely bold, and to keep ready for action with proper circumspection. Thus will they be always ready to attack with spirit, and be most firmly secured against a surprise.

"We are not marching against a people who are unable to defend themselves, but excellently well qualified for it in every respect; so that we may certainly depend upon their advancing against us to give us battle;—nor yet perhaps in motion, so long as no enemy appears; but most assuredly so when once they see us in their territory, wasting and destroying their substance. All men must kindle into wrath, when uncommon injuries are unexpectedly done them, when manifest outrage glares before them. Reflection then may indeed have lost its power, but resentment most strongly impels them to resistance. Something like this may more reasonably be looked for from Athenians than from other people. They esteem themselves worthy to command others, and their spirit is more turned to make them to suffer depredations. Against so formidable a people are we now to march; and by the event, whatever it be, shall we acquire the greatest glory or disgrace, for our ancestors and ourselves.—Let it therefore be the business of every man to follow his commander, observant in every point of discipline and the rules of war, and obeying with expedition the

orders you receive. The finest spectacle and the strongest defence is the uniform observation of discipline by a numerous army." * * *

Whilst the Peloponnesians were yet assembling at the Isthmus, or yet on the march, before they had entered Attica, Pericles the son of Xantippus, who with nine others had been appointed to command the Athenian forces, when he saw an irruption from the Peloponnesians unavoidable, had conceived a suspicion that Archidamus, whom the hospitable intercourse had made his friend, from a principle of good-nature willing to oblige him, would leave his lands untouched, or, might be ordered to do so by the policy of the Lacedæmonians, as they had already demanded an excommunication on his account; by which means he must certainly incur the pubic jealousy. He declared therefore to the Athenians, in a general assembly of the people—that "though Archidamus was his friend, he should not be so to the prejudice of the state; and that if the enemy spared his lands and houses in the general ravage, he made a free donation of them to the public; so that for any accident of that nature he ought not to fall under their censure." He then exhorted all who were present, as he had done before—"to prepare vigorously for war, and to withdraw all their effects from out of the country,—by no means to march out against the enemy, but keep within the walls and mind the defence of the city;—to fit out their navy, in which their strength principally consisted, and keep a tight rein over all their dependents. By the large tributes levied upon these, he said, their power was chiefly to be supported, since success in war was a constant result from prudent measures and plentiful supplies. * * *

The Athenians heard him with attention, and followed his advice. They withdrew from the country their children, their wives, all the furniture of their houses there, pulling down with their own hands the timber of which they were built. Their flocks and their labouring-cattle they sent over into Eubœa and the adjacent islands. But this removal was a very grievous business to them, since it had been the ancient custom of many of the Athenians to reside at large in the country. * * *

When they were come into the city, some few had houses ready for their reception, or sheltered themselves with their

friends and relations. The greater part were forced to settle in the less frequented quarters of the city, in all the buildings sacred to the gods and heroes, except those in the citadel, the Eleusinian, and any other from whence they were excluded by religious awe. There was indeed a spot of ground below the citadel, called the Pelasgic, which to turn into a dwelling-place had not only been thought profaneness, but was expressly forbid by the close of a line in a Pythian oracle, which said,

——Best is Pelasgic empty.

Yet this sudden urgent necessity constrained them to convert it to such a use. To me, I own, that oracle seems to have carried a different meaning from what they gave it. For the calamities of Athens did not flow from the profane habitation of this place, but from the war which laid them under the necessity of employing it in such a manner. The oracle makes no mention of the war, but only hints that its being some time inhabited would be attended with public misfortune. Many of them, further, were forced to lodge themselves within the turrets of the walls, or wherever they could find a vacant corner. The city was not able to receive so large a conflux of people. But afterwards, the long walls, and a great part of the Piræus, were portioned out to them for little dwellings. At the same time they were busied in the military preparations, gathering together the confederate forces, and fitting out a fleet of one hundred ships to infest Peloponnesus. In affairs of such great importance were the Athenians engaged.

THE INVASION OF ATTICA

The Peloponnesian army, advancing forwards, came up first to Oenoe, through which they designed to break into Attica. Encamping before it, they made ready their engines, and all other necessaries for battering the walls. For Oenoe, being a frontier-town between Attica and Bœotia, was walled about, since the Athenians were used, upon the breaking out of war, to throw a garrison into it. * * *

But after this assault on Oenoe, and the successive miscarriage of all the methods employed to take it, the Athenians still

resolutely refraining from the least show of submission, they broke up the siege and marched into Attica, in the height of summer, when the harvest was ripe, about eighty days after the Thebans had miscarried in the surprise of Platæa.

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The Athenians, so long as the enemy remained about Eleusis and the plain of Thriasia, conceived some hopes that they would advance no farther. * * * But when they saw the enemy advanced to Acharnæ, which was distant but sixty[1] stadia from Athens, they thought their incursions were no longer to be endured. It appeared, as it reasonably might, a heavy grievance, to have all their lands thus ravaged within their sight;—a scene like this the younger sort never had beheld, nor the elder but once—in the Persian war. The bulk of the people, but especially the younger part, were for sallying out and fighting, and not to stand tamely looking upon the insult. Numbers of them assembled together in a tumultuous manner, which was the rise of great confusion, some loudly demanding to march out against the enemy, and others restraining them from it. The soothsayers gave out all manner of predictions, which every hearer interpreted by the key of his own passions. The Acharnians, regarding themselves as no contemptible part of the Athenian body, because their lands had been wasted, in a most earnest manner insisted upon a sally. The whole city was in a ferment, and all their resentments centred on Pericles. They quite forgot the prudent conduct he had formerly planned out for them.—They reproached him as a general that durst not head them against their enemies, and regarded him as author of all the miseries which their city endured.

Pericles seeing their minds thus chagrined by the present state of their affairs, and in consequence of this, intent upon unadvisable measures, but assured within himself of the prudence of his own conduct in thus restraining them from action, called no general assembly of the people, nor held any public consultation, lest passion which was more alive than judgment, should throw them into indiscretions. He kept strict

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[1] About six English miles.

guard in the city, and endeavoured as much as possible to preserve the public quiet. Yet he was always sending out small parties of horse, to prevent any damage that might be done near the city, by adventurous stragglers from the army. * * *

The Peloponnesians, when the Athenians made no show of coming out against them, broke up from Acharnæ, and laid waste some other of the Athenian boroughs, which lay between the mountains Parnethus and Brilissus.

During the time of these incursions, the Athenians sent out the hundred ships they had already equipped, and which had on board a thousand heavy-armed soldiers and four hundred archers, to infest the coast of Peloponnesus. The commanders in the expedition were Carcinus son of Xenotimus, Proteas son of Epicles, and Socrates son of Antigenes. Under their orders, the fleet so furnished out, weighed anchor and sailed away.

The Peloponnesians, continuing in Attica till provisions began to fail them, retired not by the same route they came in, but marched away through Bœotia. And passing by Oropus they wasted the tract of ground called Piraice, which was occupied by the Oropians, who were subject to Athens. On their return into Peloponnesus, the army was dispersed into their several cities.

THE ATHENIAN OPERATIONS

After their departure, the Athenians settled the proper stations for their guards both by land and sea, in the same disposition as they were to continue to the end of the war. They also made a decree, that "a thousand talents should be taken from the fund of the treasure in the citadel, and laid up by itself; that this sum should not be touched, but the expense of the war be defrayed from the remainder—and, that if any one moved or voted for converting this money to any other use than the necessary defence of the city, in case the enemy attacked it by sea, he should suffer the penalty of death." Besides this, they selected constantly every year an hundred of their best triremes, with the due number of able commanders. These also they made it capital to use upon any other

occasion, than that extremity for which the reserve of money was destined.

The Athenians on board the fleet of one hundred sail on the coasts of Peloponnesus, being joined by the Corcyreans in fifty ships and by some other of their confederates in those parts, hovered for a time and infested the coast, and at length made a descent and assaulted Methone, a town of Laconia, whose walls were but weak and poorly manned. It happened that Brasidas the son of Tellis a Spartan had then the command of a garrison somewhere near Methone. He was sensible of the danger he was in, and set forwards with one hundred heavy-armed to its relief. The Athenian army was then scattered about the country, and their attention directed only to the walls; by which means, making a quick march through the midst of their quarters, he threw himself into Methone, and, with the loss of but a few who were intercepted in the passage, effectually secured the town. For this bold exploit, he was the first man of all who signalized themselves in this war, that received the public commendation at Sparta. Upon this the Athenians re-embarked and sailed away, and coming up to Pheia, a town of Elis, they ravaged the country for two days together. A body of picked men of the lower Elis, with some other Eleans, that were got together from the adjacent country, endeavoured to stop their devastations, but coming to a skirmish, were defeated by them. But a storm arising, and their ships being exposed to danger on the open coast, they went immediately on board, and sailed round the cape of Icthys, got into the harbour of Pheia. The Messenians in the meantime, and some others who had not been able to gain their ships, had marched over-land and got possession of the place. Soon after the ships, being now come about, stood into the harbour, took them on board, and quitting the place put out again to sea. By this time a great army of Eleans was drawn together to succour it, but the Athenians were sailed away to other parts of the coast, where they carried on their depredations.

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In the autumn of this summer, the Athenians, with all their forces, citizens and sojourners, made an incursion into

the territories of Megara, under the command of Pericles the son of Xantippus.—Those also who had been cruizing about Peloponnesus in the fleet of one hundred sail (for they were now at Ægina,) finding upon their return that all their fellow citizens were marched in the general expedition against Megara, followed them with the fleet and came up to them. By this means, the army of the Athenians became the largest they had ever at any time got together, the city being now in its most flourishing state, and as yet uninfected with the plague: for there were of Athenian citizens only no less than ten thousand heavy-armed, exclusive of the three thousand who were now at Potidæa: the sojourners of Athens who marched out along with them, were not fewer than three thousand heavy-armed: they had besides a very large number of light-armed soldiers. They laid waste the greatest part of the country, and then returned to Athens. Every succeeding year of the war the Athenians constantly repeated these incursions into the territory of Megara, sometimes with their cavalry, and sometimes with all their united force, till at last they made themselves masters of Nisæa.

In the close also of the summer, Atalante, an island lying near the Locrians of Opus, till now uninhabited, was fortified and garrisoned by the Athenians, to prevent the pirates of Opus, and other parts of Locris, from annoying Eubœa.—These were the transactions of the summer, after the departure of the Peloponnesians out of Attica.

FUNERAL ORATION BY PERICLES

The winter following, * * * the Athenians in conformity to the established custom of their country, solemnized a public funeral for those who had been first killed in this war, in the manner as follows:

The bones of the slain are brought to a tabernacle erected for the purpose three days before, and all are at liberty to deck out the remains of their friends at their own discretion. But when the grand procession is made, the cypress coffins are drawn on carriages, one for every tribe, in each of which are separately contained the bones of all who belonged to that

tribe. One sumptuous bier is carried along empty for those that are lost, whose bodies could not be found among the slain. All who are willing, both citizens and strangers, attend the solemnity; and the women who were related to the deceased, stand near the sepulchre groaning and lamenting. They deposit the remains in the public sepulchre, which stands in the finest suburb of the city;—for it hath been the constant custom here to bury all who fell in war, except those at Marathon, whose extraordinary valour they judged proper to honour with a sepulchre on the field of battle. As soon as they are interred, some one selected for the office by the public voice, and ever a person in great esteem for his understanding, and of high dignity amongst them, pronounces over them the decent panegyric—and this done, they depart. Through all the war, as the occasions recurred, this method was constantly observed. But over these, the first victims of it, Pericles the son of Xantippus was appointed to speak. So, when the proper time was come, walking from the sepulchre, and mounting a lofty pulpit erected for the purpose, from whence he might be heard more distinctly by the company, he thus began:

"Many of those who have spoken before me on these occasions, have commended the author of that law which we are now obeying, for having instituted an oration to the honour of those who sacrifice their lives in fighting for their country. For my part, I think it sufficient, for men who have approved their virtue in action, by action to be honoured for it—by such as you see the public gratitude now performing about this funeral; and that the virtues of many ought not to be endangered by the management of any one person, when their credit must precariously depend on his oration, which may be good and may be bad. Difficult indeed it is, judiciously to handle a subject where even probable truth will hardly gain assent. The hearer, enlightened by a long acquaintance, and warm in his affection, may quickly pronounce every thing unfavourably expressed, in respect to what he wishes and what he knows,—whilst the stranger pronounceth all exaggerated, through envy of those deeds which he is conscious are above his own achievement. For the praises bestowed upon others, are then only to be endured, when men imagine they can do those feats they

hear to have been done: they envy what they cannot equal, and immediately pronounce it false. Yet, as this solemnity hath received its sanction from the authority of our ancestors, it is my duty also to obey the law, and to endeavour to procure, as far as I am able, the good will and approbation of all my audience.

"I shall therefore begin first with our forefathers, since both justice and decency require we should on this occasion bestow on them an honourable remembrance. In this our country they kept themselves always firmly settled, and through their valour handed it down free to every since-succeeding generation. Worthy indeed of praise are they, and yet more worthy are our immediate fathers; since, enlarging their own inheritance into the extensive empire which we now possess, they bequeathed that their work of toil to us their sons. Yet even these successes, we ourselves here present, we who are yet in the strength and vigour of our days, have nobly improved, and have made such provisions for this our Athens, that now it is all-sufficient in itself to answer every exigence of war and of peace. I mean not here to recite those martial exploits by which these ends were accomplished, or the resolute defences we ourselves and our fathers have made against the formidable invasions of Barbarians and Greeks—your own knowledge of these will excuse the long detail. But by what methods we have risen to this height of glory and power, by what polity and by what conduct we are thus aggrandized, I shall first endeavour to show; and then proceed to the praise of the deceased. These, in my opinion, can be no impertinent topics on this occasion; the discussion of them must be beneficial to this numerous company of Athenians and of strangers.

"We are happy in a form of government which cannot envy the laws of our neighbours;—for it hath served as a model to others, but is original at Athens. And this our form, as committed not to the few, but to the whole body of the people, is called a democracy. How different soever in a private capacity, we all enjoy the same general equality our laws are fitted to preserve; and superior honours just as we excel. The public administration is not confined to a particular family, but is attainable only by merit. Poverty is not a hindrance

since whoever is able to serve his country, meets with no obstacle to preferment from his first obscurity. The offices of the state we go through without obstructions from one another; and live together in the mutual endearments of private life without suspicions; not angry with a neighbour for following the bent of his own humour, nor putting on that countenance of discontent, which pains though it cannot punish—so that in private life we converse without diffidence or damage, whilst we dare not on any account offend against the public, through the reverence we bear to the magistrates and the laws, chiefly to those enacted for redress of the injured, and to those unwritten, a breach of which is allowed disgrace. Our laws have further provided for the mind most frequent intermissions of care by the appointment of public recreations and sacrifices throughout the year, elegantly performed with a peculiar pomp, the daily delight of which is a charm that puts melancholy to flight. The grandeur of this our Athens causeth the produce of the whole earth to be imported here, by which we reap a familiar enjoyment, not more of the delicacies of our own growth, than of those of other nations.

"In the affairs of war we excel those of our enemies, who adhere to methods opposite to our own. For we lay open Athens to general resort, nor ever drive any stranger from us whom either improvement or curiosity hath brought amongst us, lest any enemy should hurt us by seeing what is never concealed. We place not so great a confidence in the preparatives and artifices of war, as in the native warmth of our souls impelling us to action. In point of education, the youth of some people are inured by a course of laborious exercise, to support toil and exercise like men; but we, notwithstanding our easy and elegant way of life, face all the dangers of war as intrepidly as they. This may be proved by facts, since the Lacedæmonians never invade our territories barely with their own, but with the united strength of all their confederates. But, when we invade the dominions of our neighbours, for the most part we conquer without difficulty in an enemy's country those who fight in defence of their own habitations. The strength of our whole force no enemy yet hath ever experienced, because it is divided by our naval expeditions, or en-

gaged in the different quarters of our service by land. But if any where they engage and defeat a small party of our forces, they boastingly give it out a total defeat; and if they are beat, they were certainly overpowered by our united strength. What though from a state of inactivity rather than laborious exercise, or with a natural rather than an acquired valour, we learn to encounter danger?—this good at least we receive from it, that we never droop under the apprehension of possible misfortunes, and when we hazard the danger, are found no less courageous than those who are continually inured to it. In these respects our whole community deserves justly to be admired, and in many we have yet to mention.

"In our manner of living we show an elegance tempered with frugality, and we cultivate philosophy without enervating the mind. We display our wealth in the season of beneficence, and not in the vanity of discourse. A confession of poverty is disgrace to no man, no effort to avoid it is disgrace indeed. There is visibly in the same persons an attention to their own private concerns and those of the public; and in others engaged in the labours of life, there is a competent skill in the affairs of government. For we are the only people who think him that does not meddle in state-affairs—not indolent, but good for nothing. And yet we pass the soundest judgments, and are quick at catching the right apprehensions of things, not thinking that words are prejudicial to actions, but rather the not being duly prepared by previous debate, before we are obliged to proceed to execution. Herein consists our distinguishing excellence, that in the hour of action we show the greatest courage, and yet debate beforehand the expediency of our measures. The courage of others is the result of ignorance; deliberation makes them cowards. And those undoubtedly must be owned to have the greatest souls, who, most acutely sensible of the miseries of war and the sweets of peace, are not hence in the least deterred from facing danger.

"In acts of beneficence, further, we differ from the many. We preserve friends not by receiving but by conferring obligations. For he who does a kindness hath the advantage over him who by the law of gratitude becomes a debtor to his benefactor. The person obliged is compelled to act the more in-

sipid part, conscious that a return of kindness is merely a payment and not an obligation. And we alone are splendidly beneficent to others, not so much from interested motives, as for the credit of pure liberality. I shall sum up what yet remains by only adding—that our Athens in general is the school of Greece; and, that every single Athenian amongst us is excellently formed, by his personal qualification, for all the various scenes of active life, acting with a most graceful demeanor, and a most ready habit of despatch.

"That I have not on this occasion made use of a pomp of words, but the truth of facts, that height to which by such a conduct this state hath risen, is an undeniable proof. For we are now the only people of the world who are found by experience to be greater than in report—the only people who, repelling the attacks of an invading enemy, exempts their defeat from the blush of indignation, and to their tributaries yields no discontent, as if subject to men unworthy to command. That we deserve our power, we need no evidence to manifest. We have great and signal proofs of this, which entitle us to the admiration of the present and future ages. We want no Homer to be the herald of our praise; no poet to deck off a history with the charms of verse, where the opinion of exploits must suffer by a strict relation. Every sea has been opened by our fleets, and every land hath been penetrated by our armies, which have every where left behind them eternal monuments of our enmity and our friendship.

"In the just defence of such a state these victims of their own valour, scorning the ruin threatened to it, have valiantly fought and bravely died. And every one of those who survive is ready, I am persuaded, to sacrifice life in such a cause. And for this reason have I enlarged so much on national points, to give the clearest proof that in the present war we have more at stake than men whose public advantages are not so valuable, and to illustrate by actual evidence, how great a commendation is due to them who are now my subject, and the greatest part of which they have already received. For the encomiums with which I have celebrated the state, have been earned for it by the bravery of these, and of men like these. And such compliments might be thought too high and exaggerated, if passed on

any Grecians but them alone. The fatal period to which these gallant souls are now reduced, is the surest evidence of their merit—an evidence begun in their lives and completed in their deaths. For it is a debt of justice to pay superior honours to men, who have devoted their lives in fighting for their country, though inferior to others in every virtue but that of valour. Their last service effaceth all former demerits,—it extends to the public; their private demeanors reached only to a few. Yet not one of these was at all induced to shrink from danger, through fondness of those delights which the peaceful affluent life bestows,—not one was the less lavish of his life, through that flattering hope attendant upon want, that poverty at length might be exchanged for affluence. One passion there was in their minds much stronger than these,—the desire of vengeance on their enemies. Regarding this as the most honourable prize of dangers, they boldly rushed towards the mark, to glut revenge, and then to satisfy those secondary passions. The uncertain event, they had already secured in hope; what their eyes showed plainly must be done, they trusted their own valour to accomplish, thinking it more glorious to defend themselves and die in the attempt, than to yield and live. From the reproach of cowardice indeed they fled, but presented their bodies to the shock of battle; when, insensible of fear, but triumphing in hope, in the doubtful charge they instantly dropped—and thus discharged the duty which brave men owe to their country.

"As for you, who now survive them—it is your business to pray for a better fate—but, to think it your duty also to preserve the same spirit and warmth of courage against your enemies; not judging of the expediency of this from a mere harangue—where any man indulging a flow of words may tell you, what you yourselves know as well as he, how many advantages there are in fighting valiantly against your enemies—but rather, making the daily-increasing grandeur of this community the object of your thoughts, and growing quite enamoured of it. And when it really appears great to your apprehensions, think again, that this grandeur was acquired by brave and valiant men; by men who knew their duty, and in the moments of action were sensible of shame; who, whenever their attempts were unsuccessful, thought it dishonour their

country should stand in need of any thing their valour could do for it, and so made it the most glorious present. Bestowing thus their lives on the public, they have every one received a praise that will never decay, a sepulchre that will always be most illustrious—not that in which their bones lie mouldering, but that in which their frame is preserved, to be on every occasion, when honour is the employ of either word or act, eternally remembered. This whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men: nor is it the inscription on the columns in their native soil alone that show their merit, but the memorial of them, better than all inscriptions, in every foreign nation, reposited more durably in universal remembrance than on their own tomb. From this very moment, emulating these noble patterns, placing your happiness in liberty, and liberty in valour, be prepared to encounter all the dangers of war. For, to be lavish of life is not so noble in those whom misfortunes have reduced to misery and despair, as in men who hazard the loss of a comfortable subsistence, and the enjoyment of all the blessings this world affords, by an unsuccessful enterprise. Adversity, after a series of ease and affluence, sinks deeper into the heart of a man of spirit, than the stroke of death insensibly received in the vigour of life and public hope.

"For this reason, the parents of those who are now gone, whoever of them may be attending here, I do not bewail,—I shall rather comfort. It is well known to what unhappy accidents they were liable from the moment of their birth; and, that happiness belongs to men who have reached the most glorious period of life, as these now have who are to you the source of sorrow,—these, whose life hath received its ample measure, happy in its continuance, and equally happy in its conclusion. I know it in truth a difficult task, to fix comfort in those breasts, which will have frequent remembrances in seeing the happiness of others, of what they once themselves enjoyed. And sorrow flows not from the absence of those good things we have never yet experienced, but from the loss of those to which we have been accustomed. They who are not yet by age exempted from issue, should be comforted in the hope of having more. The children yet to be born will be a private benefit to some, in causing them to forget such as

no longer are, and will be a double benefit to their country in preventing its desolation, and providing for its security. For those persons cannot in common justice be regarded as members of equal value to the public, who have no children to expose to danger for its safety.—But you, whose age is already far advanced, compute the greater share of happiness your longer time hath afforded for so much gain, persuaded in yourselves, the remainder will be but short, and enlighten that space by the glory gained by these. It is greatness of soul alone that never grows old: nor is it wealth that delights in the latter stage of life, as some give out, so much as honour.

"To you, the sons and brothers of the deceased, whatever number of you are here, a field of hardy contention is opened. For him who no longer is, every one is ready to commend, so that to whatever height you push your deserts, you will scarce ever be thought to equal, but to be somewhat inferior to these. Envy will exert itself against a competitor, whilst life remains: but when death stops the competition, affection will applaud without restraint.

"If after this it be expected from me to say any thing to you who are now reduced to a state of widowhood, about female virtue, I shall express it all in one short admonition;—It is your greatest glory not to be deficient in the virtue peculiar to your sex, and to give the men as little handle as possible to talk of your behaviour, whether well or ill.

"I have now discharged the province allotted me by the laws, and said what I thought most pertinent to this assembly. Our departed friends have by facts been already honoured. Their children from this day till they arrive at manhood shall be educated at the public expense of the state[1] which hath appointed so beneficial a meed for these and all future relics of the public contests. For wherever the greatest rewards are proposed for virtue, there the best of patriots are ever to be found.—Now, let every one respectively indulge the decent grief for his departed friends, and then retire."

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[1] The law was, that they should be instructed at the public expense, and when come to age presented with a complete suit of armour, and honoured with a seat in all public places.

Such was the manner of the public funeral solemnized this winter, and with the end of which, the first year of this war was also ended.

THE PLAGUE AT ATHENS

In the very beginning of [the following] summer [B.C. 430] the Peloponnesians and allies, with two-thirds of their forces, made an incursion as before into Attica, under the command of Archidamus son of Zeuxidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians, and having formed their camp, ravaged the country.

They had not been many days in Attica, before a sickness began first to appear amongst the Athenians, such as was reported to have raged before this in other parts, as about Lemnos and other places. Yet a plague so great as this, and so dreadful a calamity, in human memory could not be paralleled. The physicians at first could administer no relief, through utter ignorance; nay, they died the faster, the closer their attendance on the sick, and all human art was totally unavailing. Whatever supplications were offered in the temples, whatever recourse to oracles and religious rites, all were insignificant; at last, expedients of this nature they totally relinquished, overpowered by calamity. It broke out first, as it is said, in that part of Æthiopia which borders upon Egypt; it afterwards spread into Egypt and Libya, and into great part of the king's dominions, and from thence it on a sudden fell on the city of the Athenians. The contagion showed itself first in the Piræus, which occasioned a report that the Peloponnesians had caused poison to be thrown into the wells, for as yet there were no fountains there. After this it spread into the upper city, and then the mortality very much increased. Let every one, physician or not, freely declare his own sentiments about it; let him assign any credible account of its rise, or the causes strong enough in his opinion to introduce so terrible a scene—I shall only relate what it actually was; and as, from an information in all its symptoms, none may be quite at a loss about it, if ever it should happen again, I shall give an exact detail of them; having been sick of it myself, and seen many others afflicted with it.

This very year, as is universally allowed, had been more than any other remarkably free from common disorders; or, whatever diseases had seized the body, they ended at length in this. But those who enjoyed the most perfect health were suddenly, without any apparent cause, seized at first with headaches extremely violent, with inflammations, and fiery redness in the eyes. Within—the throat and tongue began instantly to be red as blood; the breath was drawn with difficulty and had a noisome smell. The symptoms that succeeded these were sneezing and hoarseness; and not long after, the malady descended to the breast, with a violent cough: but when once settled in the stomach, it excited vomitings, in which was thrown up all that matter physicians call discharges of bile, attended with excessive torture. A great part of the infected were subject to such violent hiccups without any discharge, as brought upon them a strong convulsion, to some but of a short, to others of a very long continuance. The body, to the outward touch, was neither exceeding hot, nor of a pallid hue, but reddish, livid, marked all over with little pustules and sores. Yet inwardly it was scorched with such excessive heat, that it could not bear the lightest covering or the finest linen upon it, but must be left quite naked. They longed for nothing so much as to be plunging into cold water; and many of those who were not properly attended, threw themselves into wells, hurried by a thirst not to be extinguished; and whether they drank much or little, their torment still continued the same. The restlessness of their bodies, and an utter inability of composing themselves by sleep, never abated for a moment. And the body, so long as the distemper continued in its height, had no visible waste, but withstood its rage to a miracle, so that most of them perished within nine or seven days, by the heat that scorched their vitals, though their strength was not exhausted; or, if they continued longer, the distemper fell into the belly, causing violent ulcerations in the bowels, accompanied with an incessant flux, by which many, reduced to an excessive weakness, were carried off. For the malady beginning in the head, and settling first there, sunk afterwards gradually down the whole body. And whoever got safe through all its most dangerous stages, yet the extremities of

their bodies still retained the marks of its violence. For it shot down into their privy-members, into their fingers and toes, by losing which they escaped with life. Some there were who lost their eyes; and some who, being quite recovered, had at once totally lost all memory, and quite forgot not only their most intimate friends, but even their own selves. For as this distemper was in general virulent beyond expression, and its every part more grievous than had yet fallen to the lot of human nature, so, in one particular instance, it appeared to be none of the natural infirmities of man, since the birds and beasts that prey on human flesh either never approached the dead bodies, of which many lay about uninterred; or certainly perished if they ever tasted. One proof of this is the total disappearance then of such birds, for not one was to be seen, either in any other place, or about any one of the carcases. But the dogs, because of their familiarity with man, afforded a more notorious proof of this event.

The nature of this pestilential disorder was in general—for I have purposely omitted its many varied appearances, or the circumstances particular to some of the infected in contradiction to others—such as hath been described. None of the common maladies incident to human nature prevailed at that time; or whatever disorder any where appeared, it ended in this. Some died merely for want of care; and some, with all the care that could possibly be taken; nor was any one medicine discovered, from whence could be promised any certain relief, since that which gave ease to one was prejudicial to another. Whatever difference there was in bodies, in point of strength or in point of weakness, it availed nothing; all were equally swept away before it, in spite of regular diet and studied prescriptions. Yet the most affecting circumstances of this calamity were—that dejection of mind, which constantly attended the first attack; for the mind sinking at once into despair, they the sooner gave themselves up without a struggle—and that mutual tenderness, in taking care of one another, which communicated the infection, and made them drop like sheep. This latter case caused the mortality to be so great. For if fear withheld them from going near one another, they died for want of help, so that many houses became quite deso-

late for want of needful attendance; and if they ventured, they were gone. This was most frequently the case of the kind and compassionate. Such persons were ashamed, out of a selfish concern for themselves, entirely to abandon their friends, when their menial servants, no longer able to endure the groans and lamentations of the dying, had been compelled to fly from such a weight of calamity. But those especially, who had safely gone through it, took pity on the dying and the sick, because they knew by experience what it really was, and were now secure in themselves; for it never seized any one a second time so as to be mortal. Such were looked upon as quite happy by others, and were themselves at first overjoyed in their late escape, and the groundless hope that hereafter no distemper would prove fatal to them. Beside this reigning calamity, the general removal from the country into the city was a heavy grievance, more particularly to those who had been necessitated to come thither. For as they had no houses, but dwelled all the summer season in booths, where there was scarce room to breathe, the pestilence destroyed with the utmost disorder, so that they lay together in heaps, the dying upon the dead, and the dead upon the dying. Some were tumbling one over another in the public streets, or lay expiring round about every fountain, whither they had crept to assuage their immoderate thirst. The temples, in which they had erected tents for their reception, were full of the bodies of those who had expired there. For in a calamity so outrageously violent, and universal despair, things sacred and holy had quite lost their distinction. Nay, all regulations observed before in matters of sepulture were quite confounded, since every one buried wherever he could find a place. Some, whose sepulchres were already filled by the numbers which had perished in their own families, were shamefully compelled to seize those of others. They surprised on a sudden the piles which others had built for their own friends, and burned their dead upon them; and some, whilst one body was burning on a pile, tossed another body they had dragged thither upon it, and went their way.

Thus did the pestilence give their first rise to those iniquitous acts which prevailed more and more in Athens. For

every one was now more easily induced openly to do what for decency they did only covertly before. They saw the strange mutability of outward condition, the rich untimely cut off, and their wealth pouring suddenly on the indigent and necessitous; so that they thought it prudent to catch hold of speedy enjoyments and quick gusts of pleasure; persuaded that their bodies and their wealth might be their own merely for the day. Not any one continued resolute enough to form any honest or generous design, when so uncertain whether he should live to effect it. Whatever he knew could improve the pleasure or satisfaction of the present moment, that he determined to be honour and interest. Reverence of the gods or the laws of society laid no restraints upon them; either judging that piety and impiety were things quite indifferent, since they saw that all men perished alike; or, throwing away every apprehension of being called to account for their enormities, since justice might be prevented by death; or rather, as the heaviest of judgments to which man could be doomed, was already hanging over their heads, snatching this interval of life for pleasure, before it fell.

With such a weight of calamity were the Athenians at this time on all sides oppressed. Their city was one scene of death, and the adjacent country of ruin and devastation. In this their affliction they called to mind, as was likely they should, the following prediction, which persons of the greatest age informed them had been formerly made:

> Two heavy judgments will at once befall,
> A Doric war without, a plague within your wall.

There had indeed been a dispute before, whether their ancestors in this prediction read *loimos* a plague, or *limos* a famine. Yet in their present circumstances all with probability agreed that *loimos,* a plague, was the right: for they adapted the interpretation to what they now suffered.—But in my sentiments, should they ever again be engaged in a Doric war, and a famine happen at the same time, they will have recourse with equal probability to the other interpretation. It was further remembered by those who knew of the oracle given to the Lacedæmonians, that when they inquired of the god, "whether they should engage in this war," his answer was, that—"if they

carried it on with all their strength, they should be victorious, and he himself would fight on their side;"—and therefore they concluded that what now befell was the completion of the oracle. The pestilence broke out immediately upon the irruption of the Peloponnesians, and never extended itself to Peloponnesus, a circumstance which ought to be related. It raged the most, and for the longest time, in Athens, but afterwards spread into the other towns, especially the most populous. And this is an exact account of the plague.

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The same summer, Agnon the son of Nicias, and Cleopompus the son of Clinius, joined in the command with Pericles, setting themselves at the head of the force which he had emloyed before, carried them without loss of time against the Chalcideans of Thrace. But when they were come up to Potidæa, which was still besieged, they played their engines of battery against, and left no method unattempted to take it. But the success in this attempt did not answer expectation, nor indeed was the event in any respect the least proportioned to their great preparations; for the plague followed them even hither, and making grievous havoc among the Athenians, destroyed the army; so that even those soldiers that had been there before, and had from the beginning of the siege been in perfect health, caught the infection from the troops brought thither by Agnon.—Phormio, and the body of sixteen hundred men under his command, had before this quitted Chalcidice, so that Agnon sailed back with the ships to Athens, of his four thousand men the plague having swept away one thousand and fifty in about forty days: but the soldiers who were there before were left to carry on the siege of Potidæa.

THE APOLOGY OF PERICLES

After the second incursion of the Peloponnesians, the Athenians whose lands were now a second time laid waste, who felt the double affliction of pestilence and war, had entirely changed their sentiments of things. The blame was universally thrown on Pericles, as if at his instigation they had engaged in this war, and by him had been plunged in all these calamities.

They desired with impatience to make up the breach with the Lacedæmonians; but though they despatched an embassy for this purpose, no terms could be agreed on. Thus grievously distressed, and no method of resource occurring to their minds, their resentments fell still heavier on Pericles. He, seeing them quite dispirited with their present misfortunes, and intent on such projects as he had reason to expect they would, called a general assembly of the people, which, by continuing in the command of the army, he was authorized to do. He had a mind to encourage them, to soothe the hot resentments fermenting in their breasts, and bring them into a more calm and confident temper. He presented himself before them, and spoke as follows:—

"I fully expected, I freely own it, to become the object of your resentments. I am not ignorant of the causes of it; and for this purpose have convened this assembly, to expostulate with, nay, even to reprimand you, if without any reason you make me the mark of your displeasure, or cowardly sink under the weight of your misfortunes: for it is my firm opinion, that by the full health and vigour of a state the happiness of its constitutents is better secured, than when each separate member is thriving whilst the public welfare totters. Be the situation of any private person prosperous and fine as his heart can wish —if his country be ruined, he himself must necessarily be involved in that ruin. But he that is unfortunate in a flourishing community, may soon catch hold of expedients of redress. When therefore your country is able to support the misfortunes of its every member, and yet each of those members must needs be enveloped in the ruin of his country, why will you not join and unite your efforts to prevent that ruin—and not (as you are now going to do, because confounded with your domestic misfortunes) basely desert the public safety, and cast the most unjust censures upon me who advised this war, upon your ownselves also who approved this advice? What —I am the man that must singly stand the storm of your anger!—I am indeed the man who I am confident is not inferior to any one amongst you in knowing what ought to be known, and in speaking what ought to be spoke, who sincerely loves his country, and is superior to all the sordid views of

interest. For he who thinks aright, and yet cannot communicate his own thoughts, is just as insignificant as if he could not think at all. He that enjoys both these faculties in perfection, and yet is an enemy to his country, will in like manner never say any thing for his country's good: or, though he love his country, and be not proof against corruption, he may prostitute every thing to his own avarice. If therefore you judged my qualifications in all these respects to be in some moderate degree superior to those of other men, and were thus drawn into a war by my advice, there can certainly be no reason why I should be accused of having done you wrong. Those indeed who are already in the fast possession of all the ends attainable by war, must make a foolish choice if they run to arms: but, if once under a necessity, either through tame submission to be enslaved by a neighbour power or by a brave resistance to get the mastery over them—he who flies danger in such a case, is much more worthy of reproach than he who meets it with bold defiance.

"I indeed am the man I was, and of the mind I was. It is you whose resolutions have wavered;—you who, whilst unhurt, through my persuasion resolved on war, and repent so soon as you feel its strokes—who measure the soundness of my advice by the weakness of your own judgments, and therefore condemn it, because the present disasters have so entirely engaged the whole of your attention, that you have none left to perceive the high importance of it to the public. Cruel indeed is that reverse of fortune which hath so suddenly afflicted you, dejecting your minds and dispiriting your former resolutions! Accidents sudden and unforeseen, and so opposite to that event you might reasonably have expected, enslave the mind;—which hath been your case in all the late contingencies, and more particularly so in this grievous pestilence. Yet men who are the constitutents of such a mighty state, and whose manners have been by education formed for its support, ought never to want that inward fortitude which can stem the greatest of afflictions, nor by self-desertion utterly to efface their native dignity. The world will always have equal reason to condemn the person who sinks from a height of glory by his own pusillanimity, and to hate the person who

impudently pretends to what he never can deserve. It must be therefore your duty to suppress this too keen a sensibility of your own private losses, and with united fortitude to act in the defence of the public safety. Let us therefore bravely undergo the toils of this war; and if the toil increaseth, let our resolution increase with it. And let these, added to all those other proofs of my integrity I have exhibited on other occasions, suffice to convince you that your present censures and suspicions of me are rash and groundless.

"I shall now lay before you a point, which, so far as I can judge, you have as yet never properly considered, nor have I in any former discourse insisted upon—the means within your reach of rising to supreme dominion. Nor should I meddle even now with a point, pompous beyond poetic visions, did I not see you beyond measure fearful and dejected. You think you are only masters of your own dependents; but I loudly aver that you are greater masters now both at land and sea, those necessary spheres for carrying on the services of life, than any other power; and may be greater yet, if so inclined. There is not now a king, there is not any nation in the universal world, able to withstand that navy, which at this juncture you can launch out to sea. Why is not this extensive power regarded in balancing the loss of your horses and lands, those intolerable damages which you think you have suffered?—It is not so reasonable to grieve and despond under such petty losses, as to despise from the thought, that they are merely the trappings and embellishments of wealth; to fix the firm remembrance within us, that liberty, in defence of which we are ready to hazard our all, will easily give us those trifles again; and that by tamely submitting to our enemies, the possession of all we have will be taken from us. We ought not in either of these respects to degenerate from our fathers. By toil, and toil alone, they gained these valuable acquisitions, defended themselves in the possession, and bequeathed the precious inheritance to us. And to lose the advantages we have possessed, will be much more disgraceful than to have miscarried in their pursuit. But we ought to encounter our enemies not with valour only, but with confidence of success. Valour starts up even in a coward, if he once prevails through lucky ignorance;

but such a confidence must be in every mind, which is seriously convinced of its own superiority, as is now our case. Nay, even when the match is equal, the certainty of what must be done arising from an inward bravery, adds the greater security to courage. Confidence then is not built on hope which acts only in uncertainty, but on the sedate determination of what it is able to perform, an assurance of which is more guarded against disappointments.

"It is further your duty to support the public character (as in it to a man you pride yourselves) with which its extensive rule invests our community, and either not to fly from toils or never to aim at glory. Think not you have only one point at stake, the alternative of slavery instead of freedom; but think also of the utter loss of sovereignty, and the danger of vengeance for all the offences you have given in the practice of it. To resign it, is not in your power,—and of this let him be assured, who refines through fear, and hopes to earn indemnity by exerting it no longer. In your hands it hath run out into a kind of tyranny. To take it up seems indeed unjust, but to lay it down is exceeding dangerous. And if such dastardly souls could persuade others, they would soon bring this state to utter ruin, or indeed any other, where they were members, and enjoyed the chief administration of affairs. For the undisturbed and quiet life will be of short continuance without the interposition of a vigilant activity. Slavery is never to be endured by a state that once hath governed—such a situation can be tolerable only to that which hath ever been dependent.

"Suffer not yourselves therefore to be seduced by men of such mean and grovelling tempers, nor level your resentments at me—since, though I advised the war, it was not begun without your approbation—if the enemy hath invaded you in such a manner as you could not but expect from your own resolutions never to be dependent. What though beyond our apprehensions we have suffered the sad visitation of pestilence?—Such misfortunes no human foresight will be able to prevent—though I know that even this hath in some measure served to sharpen your aversion to me. But if this be just, I claim as my lawful right the glory of all those happy contingencies, which may ever befall you beyond your expectation. The

evils inflicted by heaven must be borne with patient resignation; and the evils by enemies with manly fortitude. Such rational behaviour hath hitherto been habitual in Athens; let it now be reversed by you;—by you, who know to what a pitch of excellence the state hath rose in the esteem of the world, by not yielding to adversity; but, by braving all the horrors of war, and pouring forth its blood in the glorious cause, hath reached the highest summit of power, and ever since retained it. The memory of this, time itself will never be able to efface, even though we may suffer it to droop and perish in our hands—as what is human must decline.—Our memory I say, who, though Grecians ourselves, gave laws to all other Grecians, stood the shock of most formidable wars, resisted them all when combined against us, conquered them all when separately engaged, and maintained ourselves in possession of the most flourishing and most powerful state in the world. These things let the indolent and sluggish soul condemn, but these let the active and industrious strive to emulate, for these they who cannot attain will envy.

"To be censured and maligned for a time, hath been the fate of all those whose merit hath raised them above the common level;—but wise and judicious is the man who, enjoying the superiority, despiseth the envy. An aversion so conceived will never last. His merit soon breaks forth in all its splendour, and his glory is afterwards handed down to posterity, never to be forgot. You, who have so clear a prospect before you, both of what will be some time glorious, and of what at present is not disgraceful, recollect your own worth and secure both. Sink not so low as to petition terms from the Lacedæmonians; nor let them imagine that you feel the weight of your present misfortunes. The man whose resolution never sinks before it, but strives by a brave opposition to repel calamity, such—whether in a public or private capacity—must be acknowledged to be the worthiest man."

By arguments like these did Pericles endeavour to mollify the resentments of the Athenians against himself, and to divert their minds from their public calamities. In regard to the public, they seemed to be satisfied with all that he had urged; they desisted from soliciting an accommodation with the Lacedæ-

monians; and were more hearty than ever for continuing the war. Yet, in their own private concerns, they were grievously dejected under their present misfortunes. The poor citizens who had but little, could not bear with patience the loss of that little. The rich and the great regretted the loss of their estates, with their country-seats and splendid furniture;—but worst of all, that instead of peace they had the sad alternative of war. However, neither poor nor rich abated their displeasure to Pericles, till they had laid upon him a pecuniary fine.[1] And yet, no long time after—so unsteady are the humours of the people—they elected him general again, and intrusted him with the administration of affairs. The keen sense they had at first of their own private losses soon grew blunt and unaffecting, and they could not but allow him the most capable person to provide for all the urgent necessities of the public. For the supreme authority he enjoyed in times of peace he had exercised with great moderation; he was vigilant and active for the good of the community, which never made so great a figure as under his administration; and after the war broke out it is plain he best knew the reach of its ability to carry it on. He lived two years and six months from its commencement: and after his death, his judicious foresight in regard to this war was more and more acknowledged. For he had assured them they could not fail of success, provided they would not meddle by land, but apply themselves solely to their navy, without being solicitous to enlarge their territories in this war, or exposing Athens itself to danger. But they had recourse to schemes quite opposite to these, nay even to some that had no connection at all with this war, wherein private ambition or private interest pushed them to such management as was highly prejudicial to themselves and their allies. Wherever these politic schemes succeeded, private persons carried off all the honour and advantage;—whenever they miscarried, the hard-

[1] Plutarch (in the life of Pericles) says, Authors are not agreed about the quantity of the fine at this time laid upon Pericles. Some lower it to fifteen talents, others mount it up to fifty. The demagogue, who incited the people to fine him, is also said by some to have been Cleon.

ships of the war fell more severely on the state. The reason was this—Pericles, a man of acknowledged worth and ability, and whose integrity was undoubtedly proof against corruption, kept the people in order by a gentle management, and was not so much directed by them as their principal director. He had not worked himself into power by indirect methods, and therefore was not obliged to soothe and honour their caprices, but could contradict and disregard their anger with peculiar dignity. Whenever he saw them bent on projects injurious or unreasonable, he terrified them so by the force of his eloquence, that he made them tremble and desist; and when they were disquieted by groundless apprehensions, he animated them afresh into brave resolution. The state under him, though styled a democracy, was in fact a monarchy. His successors more on a level with one another, and yet every one affecting to be chief, were forced to cajole the people, and so to neglect the concerns of the public. This was the source of many grievous errors, as must unavoidably be the case in a great community and possessed of large dominion;—but in particular of the expedition to Sicily; the ill conduct of which did not appear so flagrantly in relation to those against whom it was undertaken, as to the authors and movers of it, who knew not how to make the proper provision for those who were employed in it. For, engaged in their own private contests for power with the people, they had not sufficient attention to the army abroad, and at home were embroiled in mutual altercations. Yet, notwithstanding the miscarriage in Sicily, in which they lost their army with the greater part of their fleet, and the sedition which instantly broke out in Athens, they bravely resisted for three years together, not only their first enemies in the war, but the Sicilians also in conjunction with them, the greater part of their dependents revolted from them, and at length Cyrus the king's son, who, favouring the Peloponnesians, supplied them with money for the service of their fleet;—nor would at last be conquered, till by their own intestine feuds they were utterly disabled from resisting longer. So much better than any other person was Pericles acquainted with their strength, when he marked out such a conduct to them as would infallibly have

enabled the Athenian state to have continued the war longer than the Peloponnesians could possibly have done.

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THE SIEGE OF PLATÆA.

Early the next summer [the third year of the war, B.C. 429] the Peloponnesians and their allies, omitting the incursion as before into Attica, marched their forces against Platæa. Archidamus son of Zeuxidamus king of the Lacedæmonians, commanded, who having encamped his army, was preparing to ravage the adjacent country. He was interrupted by an embassy from the Platæans, who addressed themselves to him in the following manner.—

"The war, O Archidamus and Lacedæmonians, you are now levying on Platæa, is a flagrant breach of common justice, a blemish on your honour and that of your fathers. Pausanias the Lacedæmonian, son of Cleombrotus, when—aided by those Grecians, who cheerfully exposed themselves with him to the dangers of that battle which was fought on our land—he had delivered Greece from Persian slavery, at a public sacrifice to Jupiter the deliverer, solemnized by him on that occasion in the public forum at Platæa, called all the confederates together, and there conferred these privileges on the Platæans —'That they should have free possession of the city and territory belonging to it, to be governed at their own discretion;—that no one should ever unjustly make war upon them, or endeavour to enslave them; and in case of such attempts, all the confederates then present should avenge it to the utmost of their power.'—Such grateful returns did your fathers make us in recompense of our valour and the zeal we excited in the common dangers. Yet their generosity you are now reversing —you, with the Thebans our inveterate foes, are come hither to enslave us. But by the gods, who were then witnesses to the oath they swore, by all the tutelary deities both of your own and of our community, we adjure you to do no damage to Platæan ground, nor to violate your oaths, but to retire and leave us in that state of independence which Pausanias justly established for us."—To these words of the Platæans, Archidamus made this reply:

"What you have urged, ye men of Platæa, is just and reasonable, if it be found agreeable to your actions. Let the declarations of Pausanias be observed; be free and independent yourselves, and at the same time vindicate their own freedom to others, to those who, after participation of the same common dangers, made that oath in your favour, and yet are now enslaved by the Athenians. To rescue them and others from that slavery have our preparations been made, this war hath been undertaken. You who know what liberty is, and are such advocates for it, do you abide firmly by your oaths; at least, as we heretofore advised you, keep at quiet, enjoying only what is properly your own; side with neither party; receive both in the way of friendship, in the way of enmity, neither. To a conduct like this we never shall object."

When the Platæan ambassadors had heard this reply of Archidamus, they returned into the city, and communicating what had passed to the body of the citizens, they carried back in answer to him—"That they could not possibly comply with his proposals, without the consent of the Athenians, because their wives and children were in their power—that they were apprehensive a compliance might endanger their whole community, since in such a case either the Athenians might not confirm the neutrality, or the Thebans, who were comprehended in the same neutral oath to the two principal powers, might again attempt to seize their city."—Archidamus to remove their apprehensions spoke as follows: "Deliver up your city and your houses to us Lacedæmonians; let us know the bounds of your territory and the exact number of your trees, and make as true a calculation as you possibly can of all that belongs to you. Depart yourselves, and reside wherever you please, so long as the war continues; at the end of it we will restore every thing again. In the mean time, we will make the best use of every thing intrusted to us, and pay you an annual equivalent for your subsistence." Upon hearing this, they again returned into the city, and the whole body of the people assisting at a general consultation, they returned for answer—"That they desired only to communicate the proposals to the Athenians, and then with their approbation would accept them. In the meantime they begged a suspen-

sion of arms, and to have their lands spared from depredation." He granted them a truce for the time requisite to receive an answer, and forbore ravaging the country.

The ambassadors of Platæa, having been at Athens, and consulted with the Athenians, return again with this answer to their city: "The Athenians say that in no preceding time, ever since we entered into confederacy with them, did they ever suffer us in any respect to be injured; that neither will they neglect us now, but send us a powerful aid. And you they solemnly abjure by the oaths which your fathers have sworn, to admit no change or innovation in the league subsisting between you and them."—When the ambassadors had thus delivered the answer of the Athenians, after some consultation, the Platæans resolved, "never to desert them, to bear any devastation of their lands, nay, if such be the case, to behold it with patience, and to suffer any extremities to which their enemies might reduce them;—that, further, no person should stir out of the city, but an answer be given from the walls.—That it was impossible for them to accept the terms proposed by the Lacedæmonians."

This was no sooner heard than Archidamus the king made this solemn appeal to all their tutelary heroes and gods.—"Ye gods and heroes," said he, "who protect this region of Platæa, bear witness to us, that it was not till after a violation of oaths already sworn, that we have marched into this country, where our fathers through the blessings you sent down upon their prayers overcame the Medes, and which you then made that fortunate field whereon the arms of Greece were crowned with victory—and that whatever we shall here undertake, our every step shall be agreeable to justice. We have offered many honourable conditions to them, which are all rejected. Grant therefore our supplications, that the first transgressors of justice may receive their punishment, and that those who fight with equity may obtain revenge." After this solemn address to the gods, he roused up his army into action.

He first of all formed an inclosure round about them with the trees they had felled, so that no one could get out of the city. In the next place, they raised a mount of earth before the place, hoping that it could not long hold out a siege

against the efforts of so large an army. Having felled a quantity of timber on mount Cithæron, with it they framed the mount on either side, that thus cased it might perform the service of a wall, and that the earth might be kept from mouldering away too fast. Upon it they heaped a quantity of matter, both stones and earth, and whatever else would cement together and increase the bulk. This work employed them for seventy days and nights without intermission, all being alternately employed in it, so that one part of the army was carrying it on, while the other took the necessary refreshments of food and sleep. Those Lacedæmonians who had the command over the hired troops of the other states, had the care of the work, and obliged them all to assist in carrying it on. The Platæans, seeing this mount raised to a great height, built a counter-work of wood, close to that part of the city-wall against which this mount of earth was thrown up, and strengthened the inside of it with bricks, which they got for this use by pulling down the adjacent houses. The wooden case was designed to keep it firm together, and prevent the whole pile from being weakened by its height. They farther covered it over with sheep-skins and hides of beasts, to defend the workmen from missive weapons, and to preserve the wood from being fired by the enemy. This work within was raised to a great height, and the mount was raised with equal expedition without. Upon this, the Platæans had recourse to another device. They broke a hole through the wall, close to which the mount was raised, and drew the earth away from under it into the city. But this being discovered by the Peloponnesians, they threw into the hole hurdles made of reeds and stuffed with clay, which being of a firm consistence could not be dug away like earth. By this they were excluded, and so desisted for a while from their former practice. Yet digging a subterraneous passage from out of the city, which they so luckily continued that it undermined the mount, they again withdrew the earth from under it. This practice long escaped the discovery of the besiegers, who still heaping on matter, yet the work grew rather less, as the earth was drawn away from the bottom, and that above fell in to fill up the void. However, still apprehensive, that as they were few in

number, they should not be able long to hold out against such numerous besiegers, they had recourse to another project. They desisted from carrying on the great pile which was to counterwork the mount, and beginning at each end of it where the wall was low, they run another wall in the form of a crescent along the inside of the city, that if the great wall should be taken this might afterwards hold out, might lay the enemy under the necessity of throwing up a fresh mount against it, and that thus the further they advanced the difficulties of the siege might be doubled, and be carried on with increase of danger.

When their mount was completed, the Peloponnesians played away their battering-engines against the wall; and one of them worked so dexterously from the mount against the great pile within, that they shook it very much, and threw the Platæans into consternation. Others they applied in different parts against the wall, the force of which was broken by the Platæans, who threw ropes around them; they also tied large beams together, with long chains of iron at both ends of the beams, by which they hung downwards from two other transverse beams inclined and extended beyond the wall;— these they drew along obliquely, and against whatever part they saw the engine of battery to be aimed, they let go the beams with a full swing of the chains, and so dropped them down directly upon it, which by the weight of the stroke broke off the beak of the battering machine. Upon this the Peloponnesians, finding all their engines useless, and their mount effectually counterworked by the fortification within, concluded it a business of no little hazard to take the place amidst so many obstacles, and prepared to draw a circumvallation about it.

But at first they were willing to try whether it were not possible to set the town on fire, and burn it down, as it was not large, by help of a brisk gale of wind; for they cast their thoughts towards every expedient of taking it without a large expense and a tedious blockade. Procuring for this purpose a quantity of faggots, they tossed them from their own mount into the void space between the wall and the inner fortification. As many hands were employed in this business, they had

soon filled it up, and then proceeded to toss more of them into the other parts of the city lying beyond, as far as they could by the advantage which the eminence gave them. Upon these they threw fiery balls made of sulphur and pitch, which caught the faggots, and soon kindled such a flame as before this time no one had ever seen kindled by the art of man. It hath indeed sometimes happened, that wood growing upon mountains hath been so heated by the attrition of the winds, that without any other cause it hath broken out into fire and flame. But this was exceeding fierce; and the Platæans, who had baffled all other efforts, were very narrowly delivered from perishing by its fury; for it cleared the city to a great distance round about, so that no Platæan durst approach it; and if the wind had happened to have blown along with it, as the enemy hoped, they must all unavoidably have perished. It is now reported, that a heavy rain falling on a sudden, attended with claps of thunder, extinguished the flames, and put an end to this imminent danger.

The Peloponnesians, upon the failure of this project, marched away part of their army; but, continuing the remainder there, raised a wall of circumvallation quite round the city, the troops of every confederate state executing a determinate part of the work. Both inside and outside of this wall was a ditch, and by first digging these they had got materials for brick. This work being completed about the rising of Arcturus,[1] they left some of their own men to guard half of the wall, the other half being left to the care of the Bœotians; then marched away with the main army, and dismissed the auxiliary forces to their respective cities.—The Platæans had already sent away to Athens their wives, their children, their old people, and all the useless crowd of inhabitants. There were only left in the town during this siege, four hundred Platæans, eighty Athenians and one hundred and ten women to prepare their food. This was the whole number of them when the siege was first formed; nor was there any other person within the wall, either slave or free.—And in this manner was the city of Platæa besieged in form.

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[1] Beginning of September.

This winter [the following one] the Platæans—for they were still blocked up by the Peloponnesians and Bœotians—finding themselves much distressed by the failure of their provisions, giving up all hope of succour from the Athenians, and quite destitute of all other means of preservation, formed a project now in concert with those Athenians who were shut up with them in the blockade, "first of all to march out of the town in company, and to compass their escape, if possible, over the works of the enemy." The authors of this project were Thæanetus the son of Timedes a soothsayer, and Eumolpidas the son of Daimachus, who was one of their commanders. But afterwards, half of the number, affrighted by the greatness of the danger, refused to have a share in the attempt. Yet the remainder, to the number of about two hundred and twenty, resolutely adhered to attempt an escape in the following manner:

They made ladders equal in height to the enemy's wall. The measure of this they learned from the rows of brick, where the side of the wall facing them was not covered over with plaster. Several persons were appointed to count the rows at the same time; some of them might probably be wrong, but the greater part would agree in the just computation; especially as they counted them several times over, and were besides at no great distance, since the part marked out for the design was plainly within their view. In this method, having guessed the measure of a brick from its thickness, they found out what must be the total height for the ladders.

The work of the Peloponnesians was of the following structure: it was composed of two circular walls; one towards Platæa, and the other outward, to prevent any attack from Athens. These walls were at a distance of sixteen feet one from the other; and this intermediate space of sixteen feet was built into distinct lodgments for the guards. These, however, standing thick together, gave to the whole work the appearance of one thick entire wall, with battlements on both sides. At every ten battlements were lofty turrets of the same breadth with the whole work, reaching from the face of the inward wall to that of the outward; so that there was no passage by the sides of a turret, but the communication lay open

through the middle of them all. By night, when the weather was rainy, they quitted the battlements, and sheltering themselves in the turrets, as near at hand and covered over-head, there they continued their watch. Such was the form of the work by which the Platæans were inclosed on every side.

The enterprising body, when every thing was ready, laying hold of the opportunity of a night tempestuous with wind and rain, and further at a dark moon, marched out of the place. The persons, who had been authors of the project, were now the conductors. And first they passed the ditch which surrounded the town; then they approached quite up to the wall of the enemy, undiscovered by the guards. The darkness of the night prevented their being seen, and the noise they made in approaching was quite drowned in the loudness of the storm. They advanced also at a great distance from one another, to prevent any discovery from the mutual clashing of their arms. They were further armed in the most compact manner, and wore a covering only on the left foot for the sake of treading firmly in the mud. At one of the intermediate spaces between the turrets they got under the battlements, knowing they were not manned. The bearers of the ladders went first, and applied them to the wall. Then twelve light-armed, with only a dagger and a breast-plate scaled, led by Ammeas the son of Chorœbus, who was the first that mounted. His followers, in two parties of six each, mounted next on each side of the turrets. Then other light-armed with javelins succeeded them. Behind came others holding the bucklers of those above them, thus to facilitate their ascent, and to be ready to deliver them into their hands, should they be obliged to charge. When the greater part of the number was mounted, the watchmen within the turrets perceived it. For one of the Platæans, in fastening his hold, had thrown down a tile from off the battlements, which made a noise in the fall; and immediately was shouted an alarm. The whole camp came running towards the wall, yet unable to discover the reason of this alarm, so dark was the night, and violent the storm. At this crisis the Platæans, who were left behind in the city, sallied forth and assaulted the work of the Peloponnesians, in the part opposite to that where their friends were

attempting to pass, from them to divert as much as possible the attention of the enemy. Great was the confusion of the enemy yet abiding in their posts, for not one durst leave his station to run to the place of alarm, but all were greatly perplexed to guess at its meaning. At last the body of three hundred, appointed for a reserve of succour upon any emergency, marched without the work to the place of alarm. Now the lighted torches, denoting enemies, were held up towards Thebes. On the other side, the Platæans in the city held up at the same time from the wall many of these torches already prepared for this very purpose, that the signals given of the approach of foes might be mistaken by their enemies the Thebans, who judging the affair to be quite otherwise than it really was, might refrain from sending any succour, till their friends who had sallied might have effectuated their escape, and gained a place of security.

In the meantime those of the Platæans, who having mounted first, and by killing the guards had got possession of the turrets on either hand, posted themselves there to secure the passage, and to prevent any manner of obstruction from thence. Applying further their ladders to these turrets from the top of the wall, and causing many of their number to mount, those now upon the turrets kept off the enemies, running to obstruct them both above and below, by discharging their darts; whilst the majority, rearing many ladders at the same time, and throwing down the battlements, got clean over at the intermediate space between the turrets. Every one, in the order he got over to the outward side, drew up upon the inner brink of the ditch, and from thence, with their darts and javelins, kept off those who were flocking towards the work to hinder their passage. When all the rest were landed upon the outside of the work, those upon the turrets coming down last of all, and with difficulty, got also to the ditch. By this time the reserve of three hundred was come up to oppose them, by the light of torches. The Platæans by this means, being in the dark, had a clear view of them, and from their stand upon the brink of the ditch, aimed a shower of darts and javelins at those parts of their bodies which had no armour. The Platæans were also obscured; as the glimmering of lights

made them less easy to be distinguished; so that the last of their body got over the ditch, though not without great difficulty and toil. For the water in it was frozen, not into ice hard enough to bear, but in a watery congelation, the effect not of the northern but eastern blasts. The wind blowing hard, had caused so much snow to fall that night, that the water was swelled to a height not to be forded without some difficulty. However, the violence of the storm was the greatest furtherance of their escape.

The pass over the ditch being thus completed, the Platæans went forward in a body, and took the road to Thebes, leaving on their right the temple of Juno built by Andocrates. They judged it would never be supposed, that they had taken a route which led directly towards their enemies: and they saw at the same time the Peloponnesians pursuing them with torches along the road to Athens, by Cythæron and the Heads of the Oak. For [1]six or seven stadia they continued their route towards Thebes, but then turning short, they took the road to the mountains by Erythræ and Hysiæ; and having gained the mountains, two hundred and twelve of the number completed their escape to Athens. Some of them indeed turned back into the city, without once attempting to get over; and one archer was taken prisoner at the outward ditch.

The Peloponnesians desisted from the fruitless pursuit, and returned to their posts. But the Platæans within the city, ignorant of the real event, and giving ear to the assurances of those who turned back, that "they are all to a man cut off," despatched a herald as soon as it was day to demand a truce for fetching off the dead; but learning hence the true state of the affair, they remained well satisfied. And in this manner these men of Platæa, by thus forcing a passage, wrought their own preservation.

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The following summer the Platæans, whose provisions were quite spent, and who could not possibly hold out any longer, were brought to a surrender in the following manner. The enemy made an assault upon their wall, which they had

[1] About half a mile.

not sufficient strength to repel. The Lacedæmonian general being thus convinced of their languid condition, was determined not to take the place by storm. In this he acted pursuant to orders sent to him from Lacedæmon, with a view that whenever a peace should be concluded with the Lacedæmonians, one certain condition of which must be reciprocally to restore the places taken in the war, Platæa might not be included in the restitution, as having freely and without compulsion gone over to them. A herald is accordingly despatched with this demand—"Whether they are willing voluntarily to give up the city to the Lacedæmonians, and accept them for their judges who would punish only the guilty, and contrary to forms of justice not even one of those."—The herald made this demand aloud. And the Platæans, who were now reduced to excessive weakness, delivered up the city.

The Peloponnesians supplied the Platæans with necessary sustenance for the space of a few days, till the five delegates arrived from Lacedæmonia to preside at the trial. And yet when these were actually come, no judicial process was formed against them. They only called them out, and put this short question to them—"Whether they had done any service to the Lacedæmonians and their allies in the present war?"—Their answer was, "That they begged permission to urge their plea at large;" which being granted, they pitched upon Astymachus the son of Asopalaus, and Laco the son of Aeimnestus, who had formerly enjoyed the public hospitality of the Lacedæmonians, to be their speakers, who stood forth and pleaded thus:

"Placing in you, O Lacedæmonians, an entire confidence, we have delivered up our city; but never imagined we should be forced to such a process as this, when we expected only to be tried by justice and laws—when we yielded to plead, not before other judges as is now our fate, but only before yourselves. Then indeed we thought that justice might be obtained.—But now we have terrible grounds for apprehending, that we have at once been doubly overreached. Strong motives occur to alarm our suspicions, that the point most in view is to deprive us of our lives, and that you will not prove impartial judges. We cannot but be too certain of this, when no manner of crime is formerly objected, against which we

might form our defence; when barely at our own entreaty we are heard, and your concise demand is such, that if we answer it with truth we condemn ourselves; if with falsehood, must be instantly refuted.

"Thus on all sides beset with perplexities, something of necessity must be said in our own behalf; nay, where the danger is so urgent, the only small glimpse of security appears in hazarding a plea. For persons like us distressed, in silence to abandon their own defence—this may with sad compunction torture them at last, as if their safety might have been earned by speaking for themselves—though never was persuasion so much to be despaired of as at present. Were we indeed, who are the persecuted party, entirely unknown to our judges, we might then allege such evidence as through ignorance you could not overturn, and so further our defence. But now we must speak before men who are informed of every point. Nor do our fears result from the prior knowledge you have had of us, as if you were now proceeding against us for having in valour been inferior to yourselves; but from our own sad forebodings, that we are cited to a tribunal which hath already condemned us to gratify others. Yet, what we can justly say for ourselves in regard to all our differences with the Thebans, we shall boldly allege; the good services we have done to you and the rest of Greece we shall fairly recite —and strive, if possible, to persuade.

"To your concise demand—Whether we have done any good service in this war to the Lacedæmonians and their allies? —we answer thus: If you interrogate us as enemies, though we have done you no good, yet we have done you no harm; if you regard us as friends, you have offended more than we, in making war upon us.—In regard to the peace and against the Mede, we have ever honestly performed our duty: the peace was not violated first by us against him; we alone of all the Bœotians attended you in the field to maintain the liberty of Greece. For, though an inland people, we boldly engaged in the sea-fight at Artemisium; and in the battle fought upon this our native ground, we assisted you and Pausanias; and whatever the danger to which Greece, in that troublesome period of time, was exposed, in all we bore a share beyond

our strength. To you in particular, O you Lacedæmonians, in that greatest consternation Sparta ever felt, when after the earthquake your rebellious Helots had seized upon Ithome, we immediately despatched the third part of our force for succour. These things you are bound in honour never to forget. For thus upon former, and those most critical occasions, we with honour showed ourselves your friends.—But at length we became your enemies!—For that blame only yourselves: because when we stood in great want of support against the violence and oppression of the Thebans, to you we applied, and by you were rejected. You commanded us then to address ourselves to Athens. Athens, you said, was near, but Sparta lay too remote to serve us. Yet, notwithstanding this, in the present war we have committed no one dishonorable act in regard to you, nor should ever have committed. You enjoined us indeed to revolt from the Athenians, and we refused to comply; but in this we have done no injustice. For they marched cheerfully to our succour against the Thebans, when you shrunk back: and to betray them afterwards had been base in us; in us, who were highly indebted to them, who at our own request were received into their friendship, and honoured by them with the freedom of Athens. No, it was rather our duty boldly to advance wherever they pleased to order. And whenever either you or the Athenians lead out your allies into the field, not such as merely follow you are to be censured for any wrong you may respectively commit, but those who lead them out to its commission.

"Manifold and notorious are the instances in which the Thebans have injured us. But outrageous above all is the last, about which you need no information, since by it we are plunged into this depth of distress. A right undoubtedly we had to turn our avenging arms upon men, who, in the midst of peace, and what is more, upon the sacred monthly solemnity, feloniously seized upon our city. We obeyed herein that great universal law, which justifieth self-defence against a hostile invader; and therefore cannot with any appearance of equity, be now doomed to punishment at their own instigation. For, if your own immediate interest, and their present concurrence with you in war, is to prescribe and regulate your sen-

tence, you will show yourselves by no means fair judges of equity, but partially attached to private interest. What though these incendiaries seem now a people well worth your gaining? there was a season, a most dangerous and critical season, when you yourselves, and the other Grecians, were in different sentiments. Now indeed, incited by ambition, you aim the fatal blow at others; but at that season, when the Barbarian struck at enslaving us all, these Thebans were then the Barbarian's coadjutors. And equitable certainly it is that our alacrity at that season should be set in the balance against our present transgressions, if transgressors at present we have been. You then would find our greater merits quite outweighing our petty offences; and our merits to be dated at a time when it was exceeding rare to see Grecian bravery ranged in opposition to the power of Xerxes; when praise was ascribed, not to those who, intent on self-preservation, dropped all the means of withstanding his invasion, but who chose, through a series of danger, courageously to execute the most glorious acts. Of this number are we, and as such have been, pre-eminently, most honourably distinguished. And yet, from this original we fear our ruin now may have taken its rise, as we chose to follow the Athenians from a regard to justice, rather than you from the view of interest. But so long as the nature of things continues to be the same, you also ought to convince the world, that your sentiments about them are not changed, that your principles still suggest it to you as your greatest interest, that whenever your gallant compatriots have laid upon you an obligation strong enough to be eternally in force, something on every present occurrence should be done for us by way of just acknowledgment.

"Reflect further within yourselves, that you are now distinguished by the body of Greece as examples for upright disinterested conduct. Should you therefore determine in regard to us what in justice cannot be supported—for the eyes of the world are now intent on your proceedings, and as judges applauded for their worth you sit upon us whose reputation is yet unblemished: take care that you do not incur the general abhorrence, by an indecent sentence against valuable men, though you yourselves are more to be valued; nor reposite in

her common temples those spoils you have taken from us the benefactors of Greece. How horribly will it seem for Platæa to be destroyed by Lacedæmonians; that your fathers inscribed the city upon the tripod of Delphos in justice to its merit, and that you expunged its very being from the community of Greece to gratify the Thebans! To such excesses of misery have we been ever exposed, that if the Medes had prevailed we must have been utterly undone; and now must be completely ruined by the Thebans, in the presence of you who were formerly our most cordial friends! Two of the sharpest, most painful trials we are to undergo, who but lately, had we not surrendered our city, must have gradually perished by famine; and now stand before a tribunal to be sentenced to death. Wretched Platæans, by all mankind abandoned! We, who beyond our strength were once the supports of Greece, are now quite destitute, bereft of all redress! Not one of our old allies to appear in our behalf; and even you, O ye Lacedæmonians, you our only hope, as we have too much reason to apprehend, determined to give us up.

"But, by the gods, who witnessed once the social oaths we mutually exchanged! by that virtue we exerted for the general welfare of Greece! by those we adjure you to be moved with compassion, and to relent, if with the Thebans you are combined against us! In gratitude to us, beg the favour of them, that they would not butcher whom you ought to spare; demand such a modest requital from them for your base concurrence, and entail not infamy upon yourselves, to give others a cruel satisfaction. To take away our lives will be a short and easy task; but then, to efface the infamy of it, will be a work of toil. You have no colour to wreak your vengeance upon us as enemies, who have ever wished you well, and bore arms against you in mere self-defence. Your decisions can in no wise be righteous, unless you exempt us from the dread of death. Recollect in time, that you received us by free surrender, that to you we held forth our hands; the law forbids Grecians to put such to death; and that we have been from time immemorial benefactors to you. For cast your eyes there upon the sepulchres of your fathers, who fell by the swords of the Medes, and were interred in this our earth: these

we have annually honoured with vestments, and all solemn decorations at our public expense. Whatever hath been the produce of our soil, to them we have ever offered the first-fruits of the whole; as friends, out of earth that was dear to them; as companions, to those who once fought together in the same field; and, lest all this by a wrong determination you instantly disannul, maturely reflect. For Pausanias interred them here, judging he had laid them in a friendly soil, and in the care of men with friendly dispositions. If therefore you put us to death, and turn this Platæan into Theban soil, what is this but to leave your fathers and relations in a hostile land, and in the power of those who murdered them, never again to receive the sepulchral honours? Will you further enslave the spot on which the Grecians earned their liberty? Will you lay desolate the temples of those gods to whom they addressed their vows before that battle against the Medes, and so were victorious? And, will you abolish the solemn sacrifices, which those gallant patriots have founded and anointed?

"It cannot, O Lacedæmonians, be consistent with your glory, to violate the solemn institutions of Greece, the memory of your own forefathers, and your duty to us your benefactors, thus, merely to gratify the malice of a hostile party, to put men to death who have never wronged you. No; but—to spare, to relent, to feel the just emotions of compassion, to recall the idea not only what miseries we are designed to suffer, but what persons they are for whom they are designed; and to remember the uncertain attack of calamity; upon whom, and how, undeservedly, it may fall! To you, as in honour and necessity too obliged we address our entreaties; invoking aloud the gods whom Greece at her common altars and with joint devotion adores,—to accept our plea: alleging those oaths which your fathers have sworn,—to pay them reverence. We are suppliants now at the sepulchres of your fathers, we call upon the dead reposited there, to be saved from Thebans, that the kindest of friends, as we have been, may not be sacrificed to the most deadly foes. Again, we recall to memory that day, in which having performed the most splendid achievements in company with them, we are yet this day in danger of the most deplorable fate. Conclude we must—though it is hard

for men in our distress to conclude; when the very moment their words are ended, their very lives are most imminently endangered: yet still we insist that we surrendered not city to the Thebans, rather than that we should have chose the most miserable end by famine; but confiding in you, into your hands we gave it. And highly fitting it is, that if we cannot prevail, you should reinstate us in it, and leave us there at our own option to take our fate. But once more we conjure you, that we, who are citizens of Platæa, who have showed ourselves the most steady patriots of Greece, and now, O Lacedæmonians, your suppliants,—may not be turned over, out of your hands, out of your protection, to the Thebans, our unrelenting enemies;—that you would become our saviours, and not deem to utter destruction the men to whom all Greece is indebted for her freedom."

In this manner the Platæans spoke; and the Thebans, fearing lest their words might work so far upon the Lacedæmonians as to cause them to relent, stood forth, and declared a desire to be also heard; "since the Platæans, as they conceived, had been indulged in a much longer discourse, than was requisite to answer the question." Leave accordingly was given, and they proceeded thus:

"We should not have requested your attention to any thing we had to offer, if these Platæans had replied in brief to the question, and had not run out into slander and invective against us;—if they had not defended themselves in points quite foreign to the purpose, and not at all charged against them as crimes; and launched forth into their own praise, uncensured and unprovoked. But now it is incumbent upon us, in some points to contradict and in some to refute, to prevent the bad effects which might result, either from the criminations uttered against us, or the pompous praise they have bestowed upon themselves; that you, under proper information with whom the greater truth remains, may fairly decide between us.

"Our enmity against them we openly avow, as it proceeded from just and honourable motives; since to us, who were the founders of Platæa, after we had gained possession of Bœotia and of other towns as well as Platæa, which, after

being purged from extraneous mixtures, remained in our jurisdiction,—these men disdained to pay submission, and scorned original and fundamental laws. They wilfully divided from the other Bœotians, transgressing the laws of their country, and, when likely to be forced back into their duty, they went over to the Athenians, and in concert with them accumulated wrongs upon us, which have since been justly retaliated upon them.

"But, when the Barbarian invaded Greece, they were the only Bœotians who did not join the Mede.—This they allege, and hence they arrogate applause to themselves, and lavish their calumnies upon us. We grant indeed they did not join the Mede; and the reason was, because the Athenians did not join him. Yet afterwards, when with the same all-grasping ambition the Athenians invaded Greece, they were the only Bœotians then who joined those Athenians. But consider further the respective situation from which such conduct ensued in both. Our city at that time was not administered by the few who presided with an equal and steady rule, nor directed by the general voice of the people. Its state was such, as with laws and policy is quite incompatible; it bordered close upon a tyranny: the encroaching ambition of a handful of men held fast possession of it. These, with no other view than the strong establishment of their own private authority in the success of the Mede, by force overawed the people and opened their gates to the invader. This was not the act of a whole city, of a city master of its own conduct; nor ought she to be reproached for offences committed in despite of her laws. But on the other hand, when the Mede was once repulsed and the city repossessed of her ancient polity, you ought then to consider—fresh invasions being formed by the Athenians, projects attempted to bring the rest of Greece and our dominions also into their subjection, sedition fomented amongst us, by favour of which they seized the greater part—Whether in the field of Coronea we fought them and prevailed, recovered the liberty of Bœotia, proceed even now with all alacrity to regain their liberty for others, supplying them with horse and all other military provision, far beyond any other confederate. Such is the apology we make for all the charge against us in having joined

the Mede. But—that you have been the most outrageous foes to Greece, and are most deserving of whatever punishment can be inflicted upon you, we shall next endeavour to demonstrate.

"In order to procure some revenge on us, it is your own plea, 'you became confederates and citizens of Athens.'—Be it so. You ought then to have marched in their company only against us; you ought not to have followed them in their expeditions against others. Had your own wills been averse to attend them on these occasions, it was always in your power to have recourse to that Lacedæmonian league, in which you concurred against the Mede, and about which you make at present the greatest parade. That would have been amply sufficient to turn aside our enmity from you; and, what is above all, had securely enabled you to rectify your measures. But it was not against your will, neither was it upon compulsion, that you have solely adhered to the Athenians.

"But, then you rejoin—'It was base to betray your benefactors.'—Yet it was much more base and more enormous to betray at once the whole body of Grecians, with whom you had sworn a mutual defence, than the single Athenians: the Athenians truly have enslaved your country; and the others would regain its freedom. You have not made your benefactors the requital which gratitude enjoined, or which is exempted from reproach.—'Injured and oppressed, you applied,' it is pretended, 'to them for redress;'—and then you co-operated with them in oppressing others. But it is not more dishonourable to be wanting in any act of gratitude, how justly soever it may be due, than to make the return in a manner in itself unjust. You yourselves by acting thus have afforded undeniable proofs, that you alone did not join the Mede from a zeal for the Grecians, but merely because the Athenians did not join him. You were desirous to act in concert with the latter, but in opposition to the former; and now modestly claim to be recompensed by your country, for all the iniquitous services you have done to a party. But justice will never suffer this. To Athenians you gave the preference, strive therefore from them to obtain redress. Cease vainly to allege the mutual oaths you once exchanged, as if they were obliged at present to pre-

serve you:—you renounced, you violated first those oaths, who rather concurred to enslave the Æginetæ and some other people of the same association, than endeavoured to prevent it; and all without compulsion; still happy in the uninterrupted possession of your own rights, and not compelled to receive law from others, as was our fate. Nay, to the very last moment, before this blockade was formed against you, when we calmly invited you to be quiet and neutral, you insolently refused. Which therefore is the people, on whom all Greece may fasten her hatred more deservedly than on you, who have made it a point to exert your bravery in ruining your country? Those former good dispositions you have so largely boasted, you have now shown plainly to be repugnant to your genius. What your natural turn hath ever been, the event hath with truth ascertained. The Athenians took the road of violence, and you attended them through all the journey.—And thus, ample proof hath been exhibited by us, that against our wills we served the Persian, and that you with most cheerful disposition have promoted the Athenian tyranny.

"But in regard to your finishing charge against us as guilty of excessive outrage and injustice:—that, contrary to every law, in the midst of peace, on a day of sacred solemnity, we seized upon your city—this great offence, in our opinion, is less to be imputed to us than to yourselves. Had we marched indeed against your city in a hostile manner, had we scaled your walls and put your property to fire and sword, the charge had then been just. But if men of the first rank amongst you both for wealth and birth, desirous to put a stop to your foreign combinations, and recall you to the common institutions of all Bœotians; if such at their own free motion invited our presence, wherein are we unjust? for the leaders, in all cases, are greater transgressors than the followers. Though, in the present, neither are they in our judgments, nor are we, transgressors. They were citizens as well as you; they had larger concerns at stake; and therefore, opening their gate and receiving us within their walls as friends and not as foes, they intended to prevent the corrupted part of your body from growing worse, and protect the worthy and good according to their merit. They calmly studied the welfare of your minds

and your bodies, not suffering your city to become an alien, but recovering it again to its duty and relations, exempting it from being the foe of any honest Grecian, and re-uniting it in the bonds of amity with them all.—There are proofs besides, that we did not intermeddle in a hostile manner. We did no manner of violence to any one; we proclaimed aloud, that "whoever was desirous to conform to the primitive institutions of all Bœotians, should come and join us."—You heard our voice with pleasure; you came in and entered into articles with us; you remained for a time without disturbance; but at length, having discovered the smallness of our number, and then perhaps we were judged to have proceeded inhumanly in presuming to enter without the consent of your populace, you then returned us not such treatment as you had received from us, you made no remonstrances against innovations, nor persuaded us to depart, but in open breach of articles you rushed upon us. We lament not here so much the death of those whom you slew in this base attack upon us; some colour of law might be alleged for their destruction: but when, contrary to every law, in cold blood, you murdered men who had spread their arms for mercy, and had surrendered themselves prisoners on promise of their lives,—was not that a monstrous act? In one short interval of time you were guilty of three outrageous enormities, an infraction of articles, the succeeding butchery of our people, and a breach of the solemn promise made to us, that you would not kill them, provided we refrained from plundering your lands. Yet still you cry aloud, that we are the breakers of law; you still remonstrate, that you are not debtors to justice. It is false. The point, we presume, will soon be determined right: and for these, for all offences, you shall have your reward.

"We have thus distinctly run over this affair, for your sakes, O ye Lacedemonians, as well as for our own; that you may be convinced with how much equity you are going to condemn them, and that we have pursued the offenders upon yet stronger obligations of justice. Let not the recital of their former virtues, if virtues truly they ever had, mollify your hearts. Virtue should be pleaded by men who have suffered; but, on those who have committed baseness, it should redouble

their punishment, because they sin in foul contrariety to their former selves. Let them not save themselves by lamentations and pathetic complaints, though they cried out so movingly upon the sepulchres of your fathers, and their own destitute forlorn condition. For, to stop their cries, we have proved against them, that our youths, when butchered by them, met with a more cruel and unjust fate: those youths, some of whose fathers, reconciling Bœotia with you, died in the field of Coronea; the rest, now advanced in years, bereft of their children, their houses desolate, prefer a supplication far more just to you, to avenge the mupon these Platæans. Those are most deserving of pity, who have suffered some great indignity; but when vengeance is duly inflicted on such men as these Platæans, the world hath cause to triumph. Their present destitute forlorn condition is the work of themselves. They wilfully rejected a better alliance; and, though uninjured, broke every law against us; executioners of hatred more than justice, though now about to suffer less than the precedent they set requireth. For they shall be executed by lawful sentence; not like men who with stretched-out hands obtained fair quarter, as they describe themselves, but who surrendered on this condition—to submit to justice.

"Avenge therefore, O Lacedæmonians, the law of Greece, so grossly violated by them. Retaliate all the injuries we have suffered, requiting so that cheerful friendship we have ever shown you; and let not their flow of words overturn our just demands. Make now a precedent for Greece hereafter to follow. Show them, that decisions must be formed, not according to what men may say, but according to what they have done: if their actions have been right, that a short simple narration may at any time suffice; but, if those actions have been wrong, that all studied ornamental periods are intended to disguise the truth. If those who preside at judgments, as you at present, would proceed in a summary way, to a general determination against the guilty, little room would be left, to disguise unjustifiable actions by plausible speeches."

In this manner the Thebans replied; and the Lacedæmonian judges agreed in the resolution, that the question,—"Whether they had received any good service from them

in the war?"—was properly and fairly conceived. They grounded this, upon the former proposal made to them to remain neutral, according to the old treaty of Pausanias after the Medish invasion, and upon another more lately, which they had offered before they had blocked them up, to be common friends to both sides in conformity to the same treaty. But after this double refusal, looking upon themselves as no longer bound to observe those articles, which others had deliberately infringed to traverse their interest,—they now proceed again to bring them forwards man by man, and put the question—"Whether they had done good service to the Lacedemonians and allies in the present war?"—and upon their answering 'No,' led them aside and slew them. Not one of the number did they exempt; so that in this massacre there perished of Platæans not fewer than two hundred, and twenty-five Athenians who had been besieged in their company; and all the women were sold for slaves. The Thebans assigned the city, for the space of a year, to be the residence of certain Megareans, who had been driven from home in the rage of a sedition, and to those surviving Platæans who had been friends to the Theban interest. But afterwards they levelled it with the earth, rooted up its hole foundation, and near to Juno's temple erected a spacious inn two hundred feet square, partitioned within both above and below into a range of apartments. In this structure they made use of the roofs and doors that had belonged to the Platæans; and of the other moveables found within their houses, of the brass and iron, they made beds, which they consecrated to Juno, in whose honour they also erected a fane of stone one hundred feet in diameter. The land being confiscated to public use, was farmed out for ten years, and occupied by Thebans. So much, nay, so totally averse to the Platæans were the Lacedæmonians become; and this, merely to gratify the Thebans, whom they regarded as well able to serve them in the war which was now on foot. And thus was the destruction of Platæa completed in the ninety-third year of its alliance with Athens.

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THE REVOLT OF LESBOS

In the succeeding summer [the fourth year of this war, B.C. 428] the Peloponnesians and allies, when the corn was full-grown, made incursions into Attica, under the command of Archidamus son of Zeuxidamus king of the Lacedæmonians, and having fixed their camp ravaged the country. The Athenian cavalry at all convenient places skirmished with them as usual, and checked the greater number of the light-armed from advancing before the heavy-armed, and infesting the parts adjacent to the city. Having continued here till provisions began to fail, they retired and were disbanded to their respective cities.

Upon this irruption of the Peloponnesians, Lesbos immediately revolted from the Athenians, excepting Methymne. They were well inclined to such a step before the war broke out, but were discountenanced by the Lacedæmonians, and now were necessitated to make their revolt sooner than they intended. They would have been glad to have deferred it, till they had completed the works they were about for securing their harbour, perfecting their walls and the ships then upon the stocks —till they had received what they wanted from Pontus, both archers and corn, and whatever they had already sent for thither.

The reason was—the people of Tenedos then at enmity with them, those of Methymne, and even some persons of Mitylene underhand, who in a civil broil had received the hospitable protection at Athens, had sent the Athenians advice—"That they are compelling all Lesbos to go into Mitylene, and are getting every thing in readiness for a revolt by the aid of the Lacedæmonians and their kindred Bœotians; and if timely prevention be not given, Lesbos will be lost."

The Athenians, at present miserably distressed by the plague and a war now grown very brisk and vigorous, I new that the accession of Lesbos to their enemies, possessed as it was of a naval force and fresh in strength, must be a terrible blow, and would not listen at first to the accusations sent, chiefly from the earnestness of their own wishes, that they might be groundless. But when they had in vain despatched an embassy to the Mityleneans to put a stop to the forced resort of

the Lesbians thither and their other preparations, their fears were increased, and they became intent on some expedient of timely prevention—and ordered thither on a sudden forty sail that lay ready fitted out for a cruize on Peloponnesus. Cleippides, son of Deinias, with two colleagues, had the command of this fleet. Information had been given them, that the festival of Apollo Maloeis was soon to be celebrated without the city, at which solemnity the whole people of Mitylene are obliged to assist.—It was therefore hoped, that they might surprise them on this occasion, and by one sudden assault complete the work. Should it so fall out, it would be a happy turn:—but, if this miscarried, they were to order the Mityleneans to deliver up their shipping and demolish their works, and, in case they refused, to make instant war.

With these instructions the fleet went to sea. And the Athenians seized ten triremes belonging to the Mityleneans, which happened at that time to be lying in their port as an auxiliary quota in pursuance of treaty, and cast into prison all the crews. But a certain person passing over from Athens to Eubœa, and hastening by land to Geræstus, finds a vessel there ready to put off, on board of which he gets a quick passage to Mitylene, and on the third day after his setting out from Athens, gives notice to the Mityleneans that such a fleet was coming to surprise them. Upon this they adjourned their festival, and patching up their half-finished walls and harbours as well as they could, stood ready on their guard. Not long after the Athenian fleet arrived, and finding the alarm had been given, the commanders notified to them the injunctions they brought; with which as the Mityleneans refused to comply they ranged themselves for action.

The Mityleneans, unprepared as they were, and thus suddenly necessitated to make some resistance, advanced on board their ships a little beyond the mouth of their harbour, as willing to engage. But being forced to retreat upon the approach of the Athenian fleet, they begged a parley with the commanders, from a view, if it were possible upon easy conditions, to rid themselves of that fleet for the present. And the Athenian commanders readily accorded, from the apprehension, that they had not sufficient strength to support the war against all Lesbos.

Hostilities having thus ceased for a time, the Mityleneans despatched their agents to Athens, and amongst the number one of those persons who had sent intelligence of their motions, but had now repented of the step—to procure if possible the recalment of the fleet, by assurances, that they were not bent on any innovation. But in the meantime, undiscovered by the Athenian fleet which lay at anchor in the road of Malea, to the north of the city, they send a trireme to carry an embassy to Lacedæmon; for they had no room to believe they should succeed in their negotiation at Athens. This embassy, after a laborious and dangerous voyage, arriving at Lacedæmon, began to solicit a speedy succour. And when their agents returned from Athens totally unsuccessful, the Mityleneans and all the rest of Lesbos, excepting Methymne, prepare for war. This last place sent in aid to the Athenians, as did also the Imbrians and Lemnians, and some few other of their allies.

The Mityleneans once indeed made a general sally with all their people against the station of the Athenians. Hereupon a battle ensued, after which the Mityleneans, though by no means worsted, yet durst not continue all night in the field, but diffident of their own strength retreated behind their walls. After this they kept themselves quiet, unwilling to run any more hazards, till they had got some additional strength from Peloponnesus, and were in other respects better provided. By this time Meleas a Lacedæmonian and Hermæondas a Theban are arrived among them, who had been despatched on some business before the revolt, and unable to compass the return before the Athenian fleet came up, had now in a trireme got in undiscovered since the battle. It was the advice of these to despatch another trireme and embassy in company with them, which is accordingly done. But the Athenians, as the Mityleneans remained in so quiet a posture, became more full of spirits than before, and sent summons of aid to their confederates, who came in with more than ordinary alacrity, as they saw such an appearance of weakness on the side of the Lesbians. Having now formed a station on the south side of the city they fortified by a wall two camps, which invested the place on both sides, whilst their shipping was so stationed as to shut up both the

harbours. By this means the communication by sea was quite cut off from the Mityleneans. Of the land indeed the Mityleneans and other Lesbians, who had now flocked to their aid, were for the most part masters. The quantity which the Athenians had occupied by their camps was but inconsiderable, as the station of their shipping and their market was held chiefly at Melea: and in this posture stood the war against Mitylene.

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The ambassadors of Mitylene, who were sent in the first ship, having been ordered by the Lacedæmonians to repair to Olympia, that their applications might be addressed, and resolutions formed about them, in the grand resort of their whole alliance, arrive at that place. It was that Olympiad in which Dorieus the Rhodian was a second time victor. So, when the solemnity was ended, and an audience was granted them, they spoke as follows—

"Ye men of Lacedæmon, and you their confederates, we are sensible of that method of procedure, which hath hitherto prevailed amongst the Grecians—Revolters, whilst a war is on foot, and deserters from a former alliance they readily receive, and so long as their own interest is furthered by it, abundantly caress them; yet, judging them traitors to their former friends, they regard them as persons who ought not to be trusted. To judge in this manner is certainly right and proper, where those who revolt, and those, from whom they break asunder, happen to be equal to one another in turn of principle, in benevolent affection, and well matched together in expedients of redress and military strength, and no just reason of revolt subsist.—But the case is quite different between us and the Athenians. And we ought not to be treated with censure and reproach, from the appearance of having deserted them in extremities, after having been honourably regarded by them in the season of tranquility. This our conduct to justify and approve, especially as we come to request your alliance, our words shall first be employed, as we know that friendship can be of no long continuance in private life, nor public associations have any stability, unless both sides engage with an opinion of reciprocal good faith, and are uni-

form in principle and manners. For out of dissonancy of temper, diversities of conduct continually result.

"An alliance, it is true, was formerly made between us and the Athenians, when you withdrew yourselves from the Median war, and they staid behind you to complete what was yet to be done. We grant it—we made an alliance with the Athenians—not to enslave the rest of Greece to Athenians, but to deliver Greece from the Barbarian yoke. And whilst they led us on in just equality, so long with alacrity we followed their guidance. But when once we perceived that they relaxed in their zeal against the Mede, and were grown earnest in riveting slavery upon allies; we then began to be alarmed. It was impossible, where so many parties were to be consulted, to unite together in one body of defence, and thus all the allies fell into slavery, except ourselves and the Chians. We indeed, left in the enjoyment of our own laws, and of nominal freedom, continued still to follow them to war: but, from the specimens we had hitherto seen of their behaviour, we could no longer regard these Athenians as trusty and faithful leaders. For it was not in the least probable, that after enslaving those who were comprehended in the same treaty with ourselves, they would refrain from treating such as yet were free in the same tyrannic manner, whenever opportunity served. Had we all indeed been left in the free exercise of our own laws, we should then have had the strongest proof that the Athenians acted upon honest uninnovating principles. But now, when they have laid their yoke upon the greater number, though they still continue to treat us as their equals, yet undoubtedly it highly grates them; and they cannot long endure, when such numbers couch beneath their power, that our state alone should stand up and claim equality. Nor it cannot be! For the more their power hath swelled in bulk and strength, by so much are we become more desolate. The only secure pledge of a lasting alliance is that mutual awe, which keeps the contracting parties in proper balance. For then, if any be disposed to make encroachments, he finds he cannot act upon advantage, and is effectually deterred. Our preservation hitherto hath not been owing to their honesty, but their cunning. Their scheme hath been, gradually to advance their

empire by all the specious colourings of justice, by the road of policy rather than of strength. And thus we have been reserved to justify their violence, and to be quoted as a proof, that unless those whom they have enslaved had deserved their fate, a state upon an equal footing with themselves would never have marched in conjunction with them to execute their vengeance. By the same strain of policy, their first step was to lead out those that were strongest against the weaker parties, designing to finish with them, when left destitute of any outward resource, by the prior reduction of the rest. Whereas, if they had begun with us, the confederate body remaining yet possessed of its strength, and able to make a stand, their enslaving project could not have equally succeeded. They were besides under some apprehension of our naval force, lest uniting with yours or any other state, such an accession might have endangered the whole of their plan. Some respite was also gained, from the respect we have ever shown to their whole community and to the series of magistrates who have presided amongst them. We knew, however, that we could not long hold out, had not this war come timely to our relief. We saw our own fate in the examples which had been made of others.

"What friendship, therefore, what assurance of liberty could subsist, when, receiving each other with the open countenance, suspicion lay lurking within?—when, in war apprehensive of our power, to us they paid their court; and we, from the same principle, paid our court to them in the season of tranquility? The bond of union, which mutual good-will cements in others, was in us kept fast by fear. For through the prevalence of fear, and not of friendship, we have thus long persisted in alliance. And whichever side security had first emboldened, that side would first have begun encroachments upon the other. Whoever therefore chargeth us with injustice for revolting, whilst they were only meditating our ruin, and before we actually felt the miseries designed us,—that person chargeth us without a reason. For had our situation been such, that we could have formed equal schemes to their prejudice, and disconcerted all their projects, what necessity did we lie under to resign our equality and receive their

law? But, as the power of attempting was ever within their reach, we ought certainly to lay hold of every proper expedient to ward off the blow.

"Such are the reasons, ye men of Lacedæmon, and you their confederates, such the grievances which induced our revolt;—reasons so clear, that all who hear them must justify our conduct—grievances so heavy, that it was time to be alarmed, and to look for some expedient of safety. We long since showed our inclination to find this expedient, when during the peace we sent you to negotiate a revolt, but by you rejected, were obstructed in our scheme. And now, no sooner did the Bœotians invite, than we without a pause obeyed the call. Now we have determined to make a double revolt;—one from the Grecians, no longer in concert with the Athenians to force the load of oppression upon them, but with you to vindicate their freedom—another from the Athenians, that we may not in the train of affairs be undone by them, but timely vindicate our own safety.

"Our revolt, we grant it, hath been too precipitate and unprepared. But this lays the stronger obligation upon you to admit us to alliance, with the utmost expedition to send us succours, that you may show your readiness to redress the oppressed, and at the same instance annoy your foes. Such a juncture for this was never known before. What with the plague and the exorbitant expense of the war, the Athenians are quite exhausted. Their fleet is divided, some to cruise upon your coast, others to make head against us. It is not probable they can have now the competent reserve of shipping, should you invade them a second time this summer both by land and sea; so that, either they must be unable, thus divided, to make head against you, if you singly attack them, or the union of us both they will not be able to face.

"Let no one amongst you imagine, that this will be endangering your own domestic welfare, for the sake of foreigners with whom you have no connexion. For though Lesbos lies apparently at a great distance from you, yet the conveniences of it will lie near at hand for your service. For the war will not be made in Attica, as such a one supposeth, but in those parts whence Attica deriveth its support. Their revenue

ariseth from the tribute paid by their dependents. And that revenue will be increased, if they can compass the reduction of us. For then not a soul will dare to revolt, and their own will be enlarged by the addition of our strength, and more grievous burdens will be laid upon us, as being the last who have put on their yoke. On the other hand, if with proper alacrity you undertake our support, you will gain over a state possessed of a considerable navy, that acquisition you so greatly want; and you will more easily be enabled to demolish the Athenians, by withdrawing their dependents from them: for then, every one of that number will with assurance and confidence revolt—and you yourselves be cleared of the bad imputation you at present lie under, of rejecting those who fly to you for protection. If, added to this, you manifest your views to re-establish the general freedom, you will so considerably strengthen the sinews of war, that all resistance will be unavailing.

"Reverencing therefore as you ought, these hopes which Greece hath conceived of you;—reverencing further Olympian Jove, in whose temple we now stand like supplicants distressed and suing for redress—grant to the Mityleneans the honour of your alliance, and undertake their protection. Reject not the entreaties of men, who have now indeed their lives and properties exposed to dangers merely their own, but whose deliverance from their present plunge will reflect security and advantage upon all; and who, if you now continue to be deaf to their entreaties, must drop into such a ruin as will at length involve you all. At this crisis show yourselves to be the men, which the voice of Greece united in your praise and our dreadful situation require you to be."

In this manner the Mityleneans urged their plea; and the Lacedæmonians and confederates, having listened with attention, and owned themselves convinced, admitted the Lesbians into their alliance, and decreed an incursion into Attica. To put this in execution, orders were issued to the confederates then present, expeditiously to march with two-thirds of their forces to the Isthmus. The Lacedæmonians themselves arrived there first, and got machines ready at the Isthmus to convey their ships over-land from Corinth to the sea

of Athens, that they might invade them at the same time both by land and sea. They indeed were eager and intent on the enterprise: but the other confederates were very slow in assembling together, as they were busy in getting in their harvest, and began to be sadly tired of the war.

When the Athenians found that such preparations were made against them, as an avowed insult on their imagined weakness, they had a mind to convince their foes that such imaginations were erroneous, and that they were well able, without countermanding their fleet from before Lesbos, to make head against any force that could come from Peloponnesus. Accordingly, they manned out a hundred ships, obliging all, as well sojourners as citizens (those excepted of the first and second class), to go on board. Showing themselves first before the Isthmus in great parade, they displayed their force, and then made descents at pleasure all along the coast. The Lacedæmonians seeing them thus strong beyond what they had imagined, concluded that the Lesbians had purposely amused them with fictions; and being perplexed how to act, as their confederates were not yet come up to join them, and as information was brought them, that the first Athenian squadron, consisting of thirty sail, was laying waste the territory round about their city, they retired to their own homes.

Afterwards they set about the equipment of a fleet to be sent to Lesbos; and ordered the confederate cities to send in their contingents, the whole amounting to forty sail; and further appointed Alcidas to be admiral in chief, who was ready to put himself at the head of the expedition. The Athenians departed off the coast with their hundred sail, when they saw their enemies had retreated.

During the time this fleet was out at sea, though the Athenians at the commencement of the war had as large, if not a larger number of ships, yet they never had their whole navy so completely fitted out for service and with so much pomp as now. One hundred of their ships were stationed for guards round Attica, and Eubœa, and Salamis; and another hundred were coasting all along Peloponnesus, beside those that were at Potidæa, and in other parts,—insomuch that the

whole number employed this summer amounted to two hundred and fifty sail. The expense of this, with that of Potidæa, quite exhausted their treasure. For the pay of the heavy-armed who were stationed at Potidæa, was two drachmas a-day, each of them receiving a drachma[1] for himself and another for his servant. The number of the first body sent thither was three thousand, and not fewer than those were employed during the whole siege;—but the sixteen hundred who came with Phormio were ordered away before its conclusion. The whole fleet also had the same pay. In this manner was their public treasure now for the first time exhausted —and such a navy, the largest they ever had, completely manned.

The Mityleneans, during the time the Lacedæmonians lay at the Isthmus, with a body of their own and auxiliaries, marched by land against Methymne, expecting to have it betrayed to them. Having assaulted the place, and being disappointed in their expectations, they marched back by way of Antissa, and Pyra, and Eressus. In each of these places they halted for a while, to settle affairs in as firm order as possible, and to strengthen their walls, and then without loss of time returned to Mitylene.

Upon their departure, the Methymneans marched out against Antissa. The Antisseans with a party of Auxiliaries sallying out to meet them, gave them a terrible blow, so that many of them were left dead upon the spot, and those who escaped made the best of their way back.

The Athenians—advised of these incidents, and that further the Mityleneans were quite masters of the country, and that their own soldiers were not numerous enough to bridle their excursions—about the beginning of autumn, send a reinforcement of a thousand heavy armed of their own people commanded by Paches the son of Epicurus. These having rowed themselves the transports which brought them, arrive; and build a single wall in circle quite round Mitylene, and on the proper spots of ground strengthened it by erecting forts. Thus was Mitylene strongly besieged on all sides, both by sea

[1] Fifteen cents.

and land.—And by this time it began to be winter. * * *

About the end of this winter, Salæthus the Lacedæmonian was despatched in a trireme from Lacedæmon to Mitylene; was being landed at Pyrrha, went from thence by land, and having passed the Athenian circumvallation by favour of a breach made in it by a torrent of water, gets undiscovered into Mitylene. His commission was, to tell the governors of the place, that "at the same time an incursion will be made into Attica, and a fleet of forty sail be sent to their relief, according to promise; that he himself was despatched before-hand, to assure them of these, and to take all proper care of other points." Upon this the Mityleneans resumed their spirits, and grew more averse to any composition with the Athenians.

The winter was now past, and in this manner ended the fourth year of the war, of which Thucydides hath compiled the history.

In the beginning of the ensuing summer[1]—after that the Peloponnesians had despatched Alcidas, admiral appointed, and the forty-two ships under his command, to the relief of Mitylene, with the most pressing orders—they and their confederates invaded Attica. Their design was, by this diversion to give the Athenians so much employ on all sides, that they might be unable to give any obstruction to their squadron bound for Mitylene. This present invasion as led by Cleomenes, who was his father's brother, in the right of Pausanias son of Pleistionax the king, but yet in his minority. They now utterly destroyed those parts of Attica that had been ravaged already. Whatever again began to flourish, and whatever had been spared in former incursions, now fell before their fury. And this incursion, next to the second, was the sharpest they ever made upon the Athenians. For, having continued their stay so long, as to give time to their squadron to arrive at Lesbos, and send them news of their success, they had leisure to extend their devastations over almost all the country. But when all their expectations ended in disappointment, and forage began to fail, they withdrew and were disbanded to their respective cities.

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[1] Before Christ 427.

In the meantime the Mityleneans, when they saw nothing of the squadron from Peloponnesus (which was loitering in the course,) and their provisions began to fail, are necessitated to capitulate with the Athenians upon this occasion—Salæthus, who had also himself given up all hopes of relief, causeth the populace, who were before light-armed, to put on heavy armour, with a design to make a sally on the Athenians. But they, so soon as they had received their armour, would no longer obey their governors, but assembling together in bodies, ordered those in authority either publicly to produce what provisions they had, and divide equally among them, or otherwise they would immediately make their own terms with the Athenians, and give up the city. Those in command being sensible that they had not force sufficient to hinder this, and that their own danger would be extreme, should they by standing out be excluded the capitulation, join with them in procuring the following terms from Paches and the Athenians:

"That it should be submitted to the people of Athens to determine as they please in relation to the Mityleneans.

"That the Mityleneans should immediately receive their army into the city—and despatch an embassy to them to know their pleasure.

"That sufficient respite should be indulged for this, during which Paches should put no one Mitylenean in chains, should make none a slave, should put none to death."

These were the terms of the surrender—But those of the Mityleneans who had been most active in all the negotiations with the Lacedæmonians, were thrown into the utmost consternation, and being quite in despair when the army took possession of the place, seat themselves down at the altars for refuge. Paches, having ordered them to arise with a promise of protecting them from insults, sends them over to Tenedos, till he could know the pleasure of the Athenians.

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When the authors of the revolt and Salæthus were arrived at Athens, the Athenians instantly put Salæthus to death. He made them many fruitless proposals to save his life; and amongst the rest, that the siege of Platæa should be raised, which was still besieged by the Peloponnesians. They next

entered into consultation, what should be done with the revolters; and in the warmth of anger decreed—"That not only those who were now at Athens should be put to death, but the same sentence should extend to all the men of Mitylene who were adult; and the women and children be sold for slaves." They were exasperated against them not only because they had revolted, but because they had done it without the provocation which others had received in the rigour of their government. The Peloponnesian fleet added the greater impetuosity to this their resentment as they had dared to venture so far as Ionia in aid of the rebels. For it plainly appeared to them, that the revolt had not been made without much previous deliberation. In short, they despatch a trireme to notify their decree to Paches, with orders to see it put in immediate execution upon the Mityleneans.

The day following, repentance on a sudden touched their hearts, moved by the reflection, that they had passed a savage and monstrous decree in dooming a whole city to that destruction, which was due only to the authors of the guilt. This was no sooner perceived by the Mitylenean ambassadors then residing at Athens, and such of the Athenians as inclining to mercy had a mind to save them, than they addressed themselves to the magistrates, begging the decree might be again debated. Their request was the more easily granted, as the magistrates had discovered that the bulk of the city were desirous to have a second opportunity of declaring their sentiments. An assembly of the people is again convened, and various opinions were offered by different persons, till Cleon the son of Cleanetus, who in the former assembly had proposed and carried the murdering sentence, who in all other respects was the most violent of all the citizens, and at this time had by far the greatest influence over the people, stood forth again and spoke as follows:—

"Upon many other occasions my own experience hath convinced me, that a democracy is incapable of ruling over others; but I see it with the highest certainty now in this your present repentance concerning the Mityleneans. In security so void of terror, in safety so exempt from treachery, you pass your days within the walls of Athens, that you are

grown quite safe and secure about your dependents. Whenever, soothed by their specious entreaties, you betray your judgment or relent in pity, not a soul amongst you reflects that you are acting the dastardly part, not in truth to confer obligations upon those dependents, but to endanger your own welfare and safety. It is then quite remote from your thoughts, that your rule over them is in fact a tyranny, that they are ever intent on prospects to shake off your yoke—that yoke, to which they ever reluctantly submitted. It is not forgiveness on your part, after injuries received, that can keep them fast in their obedience, since this must be ever the consequence of your own superior power, and not of gratitude in them.

"Above all, I dread that extremity of danger to which we are exposed, if not one of your decrees must ever be carried into act, and we remain for ever ignorant—that the community which uniformly abides by a worse set of laws, hath the advantage over another, which is finely modelled in every respect, except in practice;—that modest ignorance is a much surer support than genius which scorns to be controlled;—and that the duller part of mankind in general administer public affairs much better than your men of vivacity and wit. The last assume a pride in appearing wiser than the laws; in every debate about the public good they aim merely at victory, as if there were no other points sufficiently important wherein to display their superior talents; and by this their conduct they generally subvert the public welfare: the former, who are diffident of their own abilities, who regard themselves as less wise than the laws of their country—though unable to detect the specious orator, yet being better judges of equity than champions in debate, for the most part enforce the rational conduct. This beyond denial is our duty at present; we should scorn competitions in eloquence and wit, nor wilfully and contrary to our own opinion mislead the judgment of this full assembly.

"For my part, I persist in my former declarations, and I am surprised at the men who proposed to have the affair of Mitylene again debated, who endeavour to protract the execution of justice, in the interest of the guilty more than of the

injured. For by this means the sufferer proceeds to take vengeance on the criminal with the edge of his resentment blunted; when revenge, the opposite of wrong, the more nearly it treads upon the heels of injury, generally inflicts the most condign punishment. But I am more surprised at him, whoever he be, that shall dare to contradict, and pretend to demonstrate, that the injuries done by the Mityleneans are really for our service, and that our calamities are hardships on our dependents. He certainly must either presume upon his own eloquence, if he contends to prove that what was plainly decreed was never decreed; or, instigated by lucre, will endeavour to seduce you by the elaborate and plausible artifice of words. In such contentions, the state indeed awards the victory to whom she pleaseth, but she sustains all the damage herself. You are answerable for this, Athenians—you, who fondly dote on these wordy competitions—you, who are accustomed to be spectators of speeches and hearers of actions. You measure the possibility of future effects by the present eloquence of your orators; you judge of actions already past, not by the certain conviction of your own eyes, but the fallible suggestions of your ears, when soothed by the inveigling insinuating flow of words. You are the best in the world to be deceived by novelty of wit, and to refuse to follow the dictates of the approved judicious speaker,—slaves as you are to whatever trifles happen always to be in vogue, and looking down with contempt on tried and experienced methods. The most earnest wish that the heart of any of your body ever conceived is, to become a speaker; if that be unattainable, you range yourselves in opposition against all who are so, for fear you should seem in judgment their inferiors. When any thing is acutely uttered, you are ready even to go before it with applause, and intimate your own preconception of the point, at the same time dull at discerning whither it will tend. Your whole passion, in a word, is for things that are not in reality and common life; but of what passeth directly before your eyes you have no proper perception. And, frankly, you are quite infatuated by the lust of hearing, and resemble more the idle spectators of contending sophists, than men who meet to deliberate upon public affairs. From such vain amusements, en-

deavouring to divert you, I boldly affirm that no one city in the world hath injured you so much as Mitylene.

"Those who, unable to support the rigour of your government, or who, compelled to do it by hostile force, have revolted from you, I readily absolve. But for a people who inhabit an island, a fortified island; who had no reason to dread the violence of our enemies, except by sea; who even at sea, by the strength of their own shipping, were able to guard themselves against all attacks; who enjoyed their own model of government, and were ever treated by us with the highest honour and regard—for such a people to revolt in this manner is never to be forgiven. Is not their whole procedure one series of treachery? Have they not rather made war upon than revolted against us? for revolt can only be ascribed to those who have suffered violence and outrage. Have they not further sought out our implacable foes, and begged to participate with them in our destruction? This certainly is a much greater aggravation of guilt, than if merely on their own domestic strength they had rebelled against us. They would not be deterred by the calamities of their neighbours, who have frequently before this revolted, and been punished for it by a total reduction: nor would they so far acquiesce in present felicity, as not to hazard the dangerous reverse of misery. Audacious in regard to the future, presumptuous above their strength, but below their intention, they made war their choice, and in preferring violence to the just observance of duty have placed their glory. For, though uninjured and unprovoked, the first moment they saw a probability of prevailing, they seized it and rebelled.

"It is the usual effect of prosperity, especially when felt on a sudden, and beyond their hope, to puff up a people into insolence of manners. The successes of mankind, when attained by the rational course, are generally of much longer continuance than when they anticipate pursuit. And in a word, men are much more expert at repelling adversity than preserving prosperity. By this ought we long ago to have adjusted our conduct towards the Mityleneans, never distinguishing them above others with peculiar regard; and then, they never would have been that insolent people we have found

them now. For so remarkably perverse is the temper of man, as ever to contemn whoever courts him, and admire whoever will not bend before him.

"Let condign punishments therefore be awarded to their demerits. Let not the guilt be avenged upon the heads of the few, and the bulk of offenders escape unpunished. The whole people to a man have rebelled against us, when it was in their power to have been sheltered here, and now again to be reinstated in their former seats. But they judged the danger would be lessened by the general concurrence with the few, and so all revolted in concert.

"Extend further your regards to the whole body of your dependents; for if you inflict the same punishments on those who revolt by compulsion of enemies, and who revolt on pure deliberate malice, which of them, do you think, will not seize the least pretext to throw off your yoke; when, if he succeeds, his liberty is recovered, and, though he fails, the hurt is so easy to be cured? Besides this, our lives and fortunes will be endangered upon every single attempt which shall be made. Suppose we succeed, we only recover an exhausted ruinated city, but shall for the future be deprived of the revenue arising from it, the essence of our strength; but if we cannot prevail, we shall enlarge the number of enemies we already have, and at a time when we ought to be employed in resisting our present adversaries, we shall be entangled in wars against our own dependents. We ought not therefore to encourage the hope, whether raised by the force of entreaty, or purchased by the force of corruption, that their errors are but the errors of men and shall therefore be forgiven. The damage they have done was not involuntary, but they have been deliberate determined villains: forgiveness is only for those who erred not by design.

"Moved by the ardency and zeal of my former plea, you made the decree; and now I earnestly conjure you, not to repent of your own determinations, not to plunge yourselves in inextricable difficulties, through pity, through delight of hearing, and soft forbearance, the three most prejudicial obstacles of power. It is just to show pity to those who are its proper objects, and not to men, who would never have felt compassion for us, nor to foes who of necessity must be im-

placable. The orators, those delights of your ears, will have room in debates of lesser moment to catch at your applause, but should be silenced here, where they only can give the public a short-lived pleasure, whilst they embroil it with perplexities not easy to be surmounted, and themselves alone, in requital of speaking well, will be well rewarded for it. Forbearance, further, may be shown to those who are willing to be, and will for the future prove themselves, our friends; but not to such inveterate souls as these, who, if suffered to live, will live only to wreak their malice against you.

"I shall wave enlargements, and give you only one short assurance, that if you hearken to my admonitions, you will at the same time do justice to the Mityleneans and service to yourselves; but if you resolve in any other manner, you will receive no thanks from them, and will establish the clearest evidence for your own condemnation. For, if these men had reason to revolt, it follows that you have tyrannically ruled them. Grant the injustice of such a rule, but yet that you have presumed to be guilty of it;—why then, upon the mere motive of interest, you ought now to chastise them beyond what is right, or immediately to forego your power, and dropping yourselves down into impotent security, to set about the practice of humanity and virtue. But adieu to this vain expedient! and at once resolve to make them feel that weight of misery they designed for us. Convince them that those who have escaped it can feel as strong resentments as those who projected the fatal blow. Determine now, by recollecting with yourselves what kind of usage you would have received from them, had they succeeded in their plots; they! the uninjured, unprovoked aggressors. It is an allowed truth, that men who without the least provocation have recourse to acts of malice, will be sated with nothing less than complete destruction, as they must ever be terrified at the sight of a surviving foe. For he who suffers from a quarter whence he never deserved it, will not so easily lay down his resentments, as when mutual enmity hath kindled the contention. Be not therefore traitors to your ownselves. Figure to yourselves, as strongly as you can, the miseries they designed you; remember how you wished for nothing in this world so much as to have them in your

power, and now retaliate upon them. Relent not at the scene of horror imagination may present to your fancy, but fix your remembrance fast on that weight of misery which was just now suspended over your own heads. Punish these wretches according to their deserts, make them a notable example to the rest of your dependents, that death must be the portion of whoever dares revolt. For when once they are certain of this, your arms will be no more recalled from your foreign enemies, to be employed in the chastisement of your own dependents."

In this manner Cleon[1] supported the decree, and when he had concluded, Diodotus the son of Eucrates, who in the former assembly had most strenuously opposed the bloody sentence against the Mityleneans, stood forth, and thus replied:—

"I neither blame those who proposed the resumption of the decree against Mitylene, nor do I praise the men who inveigh against repeated consultations on points of the greatest importance. But I lay it down for certain, that there are no two greater impediments of sound mature counsel than precipitation and anger: of which, the one is closely connected with madness, the other with raw inexperience and short limitary judgment.

"It may indeed be warmly asserted, that words are not the proper guides to actions. But the author of such an assertion is either wanting in discernment, or confines it only to his own selfish views. He is wanting in discernment, if he imagines there is any other possible method of putting light into things that are future or unseen; or confines it only to himself, if willing to recommend a scandalous measure, and conscious he hath not eloquence enough to support it openly, he launcheth out into plausible calumnies, to intimidate his opponents as well as his audience.

[1] By means of his eloquence, and an impudence that never could be dashed, Cleon was now a prime favourite with the people, but the scorn and terror of all good men at Athens. He had ever been a snarler at Pericles, but so long as he lived could obtain no share in the public administration. He had now got the the ascendant by cajoling the people, and by his loud and daily invectives against their masters and commanders.

"But odious beyond all support is their procedure who prematurely condemn the advice of others as purchased and corrupt. For would they only acquiesce in the charge of ignorance, the defeated opponent goes off with the bare character of a man less enlightened indeed, but quite as honest. If he be charged with corruption, his point he may carry, but his honesty will ever be suspected: and if his point be lost, he must pass for knave and blockhead both. Such methods can never be conducive to the public good. The men best able to advise, are by this means intimidated: though the public welfare would then be best secured, if every person of so disingenuous a temper was not able to open his mouth; for then, by his seducements, the public could never be misled. But it is the duty of every true patriot to despise the slanders of opponents, and on fair and impartial views to get his own advice accepted. It is the duty of every well-regulated public, not indeed to load a man with honours for having given the best advice, but, never to abridge him of his present portion; and if he cannot prevail, by no means to disgrace, much less to punish him: for then, neither would the successful debater, from a view of enhancing his own personal honours, ever speak against conscience, or aim merely at applause; nor would he, who hath been unsuccessful in his motions, be greedy of proposing whatever may cajole, and so earn popularity for himself. But the method in vogue with us is the reverse of this; and what is worse, if a person be suspected of corruption, though he advise the most prudent expedients, yet the odium raised against him upon the weak suggestion of lucre, quite weighs him down, and we are deprived of the manifest service he could do to the state. Nay, such is our method, that even the best advice, if readily offered, can escape suspicion no more than the worst. And hence it is necessarily incumbent, as well upon him who would persuade the public into the most prejudicial measures, to seduce the people with art; as upon him who would advise the best, to disguise the truth in order to prevail. Amidst these jugglings, the public alone is debarred the service of its most able counsellors, since in a plain and open method they cannot possibly act, and artifice must clear the way before them. For the man who

openly bestows any benefit upon it, is constantly suspected of doing underhand a greater to himself.

"When affairs therefore of so high concern are before you, when the general temper is so over-run with jealousy, we, who presume to advise, must enlarge our prospect farther than you, who only assist at a transient consultation; because we are accountable for what we propose, and you are not accountable for the prejudices with which you hear. For if not only he who proposed, but he who complied, were equally answerable for events, your determinations would be better framed than they are at present. But now, hurried along as you are by your hasty resentments on any sinister event, you wreak your fury only upon the single opinion of the person who advised, and not upon your own joint opinions, by concurrence of which the miscarriage was incurred.

"For my part, I neither stand up to deny certain facts in favour of the Mityleneans, nor to waste the time in fruitless accusations. We are not debating now what wrongs they have done us, since that would be a reproach to sense; but what determination about them is best. For, though I can prove, beyond a scruple, that they have injured us in the most outrageous manner, yet I shall not for that reason advise you to butcher them, unless it be expedient; nor, were they objects of forgiveness, should I advise forgiveness, unless I judged it for the interest of the public. I apprehend, that our consultations turn more upon a future than a present view. And Cleon here most confidently asserts, that the surest expedient of your future welfare is, to prevent all other revolts by inflicting death in doom of this; but, equally confident of the just expedient of future security, I declare quite on the other side. And I entreat you, by no means to reject the real advantage of mine for the specious colourings of his advice. Strict justice, I grant, may be with him; and, enraged as you are against the Mityleneans, may have a sudden influence upon you. But we meet not here in judgment upon them, and justly to decide is not now our employment; we are only to consult how to dispose of them best for our own advantage.

"In the public communities of men, death is the penalty awarded to several crimes, to such as are not enormous like

this, but of a less guilty nature. Yet puffed up with hope, men run all hazards, and no one ever yet hath boldly incurred the danger, if self-convinced beforehand, that he could not survive the attempt. Where was the city so bent on revolt, that, when its own domestic strength, or the aid of others, were judged unequal to the work, durst ever attempt it? The whole of mankind, whether individuals or communities, are by nature liable to sin: and a law of infallible prevention will never be enacted. Men by repeated trials have enforced all kinds of punishment, attentive, if possible, to restrain the outrages of the wicked. And in the early age it is probable, that milder penalties were assigned for the most enormous wrongs; but, being found by experience ineffectual, they were afterwards extended generally to loss of life: this however is not yet effective. Some terror therefore must be invented, even more alarming than this, or this will never sufficiently restrain. But then there is a poverty which renders necessity daring; there is a power which renders pride and insolence rapacious. There are other contingencies, which, in the fervour of passions, as every human mind is possessed by some too stubborn to admit a cure, drive them on bodly to confront extremities. But the greatest incentives of all are hope and love: this points out a path, and that moves along according to direction: this thoughtlessly proposeth the scheme, and that immediately suggesteth a certainty of success. These are the sources of all our evils; and these invisible principles within us are too strong for all the terrors that are seen without. To these add fortune, who contributes her ample share to divest the mind of its balance. She shows herself by unexpected starts, and encourageth even the incompetent to venture dangers, and hath a greater influence over communities, as the ends proposed by them are of the greatest concern, such as liberty or dominion, where every individual, amidst the universal ardour, unaccountably plumes himself up, and acts with a spirit above himself. But in truth, it is quite impossible; it is a proof of egregious folly to imagine, when human nature is impelled by its own impetuous passions towards such objects, that the force of laws or any intervening terror is strong enough to divert them from the mark. Hence therefore ariseth the strongest

dissuasive to us from confiding in the penalty of death as the only pledge of our future safety, which must betray us into weak prejudicial measures, which must drive all revolters into utter despair, by showing them plainly, that we shall never accept repentance, shall not give them one moment's indulgence to palliate their offences.

"Consider with yourselves, in the merciful light, that a revolted city, when for certainty assured that it cannot hold out, may submit upon our own conditions, whilst yet in a capacity to reimburse our expenses, and to advance the future tribute. But in the opposite case, can you imagine there is any city which will not better prepare itself for revolt than Mitylene hath done, and hold out a siege to the last extremity? Is there no difference between a quick and a slow submission? Shall not we be hurt, if forced through their despair to continue a tedious and expensive siege; and, when the place is taken, to be masters only of one heap of desolation, unable for the future to squeeze the least pittance or revenue from it? It is revenue alone which renders us a terror to our foes. We ought not therefore with the rigour of judges to inflict the exactest punishments upon these offenders. We ought rather to provide for futurity, and by moderate correction still to preserve those cities in a full capacity of paying us the needful tribute. To keep men firm in their duty, we should scorn the expedient of severe and sanguinary laws, since mild discretionary caution would better answer the purpose. This prudent conduct we are now reversing, if, when re-possessed of a city stripped of its former liberty and ruled with violence, sufficient motives of revolt, that it may again become independent; if now we judge, that this ought to be avenged with a weight of severity. Men who have known what liberty is, ought not to be too severely chastised, if they have dared to revolt; but we ought to observe them with timely vigilance before they revolt, to prevent their taking the least step towards it or even once entertaining a thought about it; at least, when we have quelled the insurrection, the guilt should be fastened upon as few as possible.

"Consider, I beseech you, with yourselves, how greatly you will err in this, and in another respect, if Cleon's advice be approved. For now, the populace of all the cities are generally

well-affected towards us. They either refuse to concur with the few in their revolts; or, if their concurrence be forced, they instantly turn enemies to those who forced them;—and you proceed to determine the contest, assured that the populace of the adverse city will be active in your favour. But if you doom to general excision the people of Mitylene, those who had no share in the revolt—who, when once they had got arms into their hands, spontaneously delivered up the place;—you will be guilty, first, of base ingratitude, for murdering your own benefactors,—and you will, next, establish such a precedent, as the factious great above all things wish to see. For then, whenever the latter effect the revolt of cities, they will instantly have the people attached to their party; since you yourselves have enforced the precedent, that punishment must fall upon the heads, not only of the guilty, but even of the innocent. Whereas, indeed, though they had been guilty, we ought to have dissembled our knowledge of it, that we might not force the only party which ever takes our side into utter enmity and aversion. And I esteem it much more conducive to the firm support of empire, rather to connive at the wrongs we may have felt, than in all the severity of justice to destroy those persons whom in interest we ought to spare. And thus, that union of justice to others and duty to yourselves in this instance of punishing the Mityleneans, as alleged by Cleon, is plainly found to be grossly inconsistent, to be utterly impossible.

"Own yourselves therefore convinced, that the greatest advantages will result from the conduct which I have recommended; and, without giving too wide a scope to mercy or forbearance, by which I could never suffer you to be seduced, follow my advice, and in pursuance of it resolve—'To judge and condemn, at your own discretion, those guilty Mityleneans whom Paches hath sent hither to attend your decisions, and to let the others continue as they are.' These are expedients of your future welfare, and of immediate terror to your foes. For they who can form the soundest deliberations, stand stronger up against hostile opposition, than the men who rush to action with indiscreet unpremeditating strength."

Diodotus ended here. And when these two opinions, diametrically opposite to one another, had been thus delivered,

the Athenians had a stiff contest in support of each, and upon holding up of hands there seemed near an equality; but the majority proved at last to be along with Diodotus.

Upon this they immediately sent away another trireme, enjoining all possible despatch, lest this second, not coming in time, might find the city already destroyed, as the other had got the start of a day and a night. The Mitylenean ambassadors amply furnished them with wine and barley-cakes and promised them great rewards if they arrived in time. By this means they were so eager to accelerate the passage, that even whilst plying the oar they eat their cakes dipped in wine and oil; and whilst one half of the number refreshed themselves with sleep, the others kept rowing amain. So fortunate were they that not one adverse blast retarded their course. The former vessel, as sent on a monstrous errand, had not hastened its passage in the least; and the latter was most intently bent on expedition. That indeed got before to Mitylene, but only long enough for Paches to read over the decree, and give orders for its immediate execution. At that crisis the latter arriveth, and prevented the massacre. To such an extremity of danger was Mitylene reduced.

The other Mityleneans, whom Paches had sent to Athens as deepest concerned in the revolt, were there put to death, according to the advice of Cleon. And the number of these amounted to somewhat above a thousand.

The Athenians, further, demolished the walls of Mitylene and took away their shipping. They did not for the future enjoin an annual tribute upon the Lesbians, but dividing the whole island into shares (except what belonged to Methymne), three thousand in the whole, they set apart three hundred of these as sacred to the gods, and sent some of their own people, who were appointed by lot, to take possession of the rest, as full proprietors. The Lesbians, as tenants of these, were obliged to pay them two minæ ($35) yearly for every share; in consideration of which they had still the use of the soil. The Athenians also took from them several towns upon the continent, which had belonged to the Mityleneans, and which continued afterwards in subjection to the Athenians. Thus ended the commotions of Lesbos.

THE ANABASIS

OF

XENOPHON

OR THE

RETREAT

OF THE

TEN THOUSAND GREEKS

TOGETHER WITH A DISSERTATION UPON THE MACEDONIAN PHALANX

BY POLYBIUS

TRANSLATED BY

EDWARD SPELMAN, ESQ.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE SAME

INTRODUCTION

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF XENOPHON

Xenophon was an Athenian; his Father's Name Gryllus. All that we know of him 'till he attended Cyrus in his Expedition, is, that he was a Disciple of Socrates. If, to have been a Disciple of that great Man was an Instance of his good Fortune, the Improvement he made of that Education is an Instance of his Merit; and, indeed, nothing less than the happiest Disposition, the best Education, and the greatest Improvement of both, could render Xenophon that universal Man we find him in his Writing: his Cyropædia shews him to have possessed, in a sovereign Degree, the Art of Government; his Expedition of Cyrus shews him a compleat General; his History, an entertaining, an instructive, and a faithful Historian; his Panegyric of Agesilaus, an Orator; and his Treatise of Hunting, a Sportsman; his Apology for Socrates, and the Account he gives of his Manner of conversing, shew that he was both a Friend, and a Philosopher; and all of them, that he was a good Man. This appears remarkably in his preserving Byzantium from being plundered by his Soldiers, who, having gained no other Reward of the dangerous Expedition they had been engaged in, but their Preservation, were not only strongly tempted to plunder that Town by the hope of making their Fortunes, but justly provoked to it by the disingenuous Behaviour of the Lacedæmonian Governor; yet these two lawless Passions, Avarice, and Revenge, the Authority, and Eloquence of Xenophon quite subdued.

As Cyrus had assisted the Lacedæmonians in their War against the Athenians, the latter looked upon Xenophon's Attachment to that Prince as criminal, and banished him for engaging in his Service. After this, Xenophon attended Agesilaus, when he was sent for by the Lacedæmonians with his Army from Asia; where, the Success of his Arms gave something more than Uneasiness to Artaxerxes, who, not

without Cause, began to fear the same Fate from Agesilaus, which his Successor, Darius, afterwards found from Alexander; but the former, by corrupting the Greek Cities, and, by that Means, engaging them to make War upon the Lacedæmonians, suspended the Fate of Persia for a Time: But, in all Evils, Relief, obtained by Corruption, is only a Respite, not a Cure; for, when Alexander invaded Persia, the same low Arts were again practised by Darius to recall him from Asia by a Diversion in Greece; but, these proving ineffectual, the Persians, by trusting more to the Vices of their Enemies, than to their own Virtue, became an easy Conquest. Agesilaus, soon after he returned, fought the Battle of Coronea, where, though wounded, he defeated the Thebans, and their Allies; at this Battle Xenophon was present. After that, he retired to Scilus, where he passed his Time in reading, the Conversation of his Friends, Sporting, and writing History. But, this Place, being over-run by the Eleans, in whose Neighbourhood it was, Xenophon went to Corinth, where he lived 'till the first Year of the 105th Olympiad, when he died in the ninety-first Year of his Age: So that, he must have been about fifty Years of Age at the Time of the Expedition of Cyrus, which was the fourth Year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, just forty Years before. I am sensible some learned Men are of Opinion that he was not so old at the Time of the Expedition, though I see no Reason to disbelieve Lucian in this Particular, who says that Xenophon was above ninety Years of Age when he died. However, this is beyond all Dispute, that he lived 'till after the Battle of Mantinea, which, according to Diodorus Siculus, was in the second Year of the 104th Olympiad, because he closes his History of the Affairs of Greece with the Account of that Battle: In which Account it is very extraordinary that he should say nothing more of the most remarkable Incident in it, I mean the Death of Epaminondas, than that he fell in the Action; but this may be accounted for by that Modesty, which was the distinguishing Character of our Author, because it is well known that Epaminondas fell by the Hand of Gryllus, the Son of Xenophon, who was sent by his Father to the Assistance of the Athenians. It will easily be imagined that a General, at the Head of a victorious Army,

then pursuing his Victory, could not be attacked, much less slain, without manifest Danger to the daring Enemy, who should attempt it. This Gryllus found, for he had no sooner lanced the fatal Dart, which deprived Thebes of the greatest General of that Age, but he was cut to Pieces by the Friends of Epaminondas. When the News of his Death was brought to Xenophon, he said no more than that he knew he was mortal.

THE ANABASIS

BOOK I

Cyrus was the youngest Son of Darius by Parysatis, and Brother to Artaxerxes. Darius being sick, and apprehensive of his approaching End, desired both his Sons might attend him. Artaxerxes the Eldest being then present, he sent for Cyrus from his Government with which he had invested him, as Satrape, having also appointed him General of all the People, who assemble in the Plain of Castolus. Hereupon, Cyrus came to Court, accompanied by Tissaphernes as his Friend, and attended by three hundred heavy-armed Greeks, under the command of Xenias of Parrhasie.

After the Death of Darius, and the Accession of Artaxerxes, Tissaphernes accuses Cyrus to his Brother of Treason: Artaxerxes gives credit to the Accusation, and orders Cyrus to be apprehended, with a design to put him to death: but his Mother having saved him by her Intercession, sends him back to his Government. Cyrus, as soon as he left the Court after this Danger and Disgrace, deliberates by what means he may no longer be subject to his Brother, but if possible, reign in his place. In this he was supported by his Mother Parysatis, who had a greater love for Cyrus, than for the King Artaxerxes; and when any Persons belonging to the Court resorted to him, he sent them back more disposed to favour him than the King: Besides, he took so great care of the Barbarians who were with him, as to render them both good Soldiers, and affectionate to his Service: He also levied an Army of Greeks with all possible Secrecy, that he might find the King in no degree prepared to resist him. And whenever he recruited the Garrisons that were dispersed in the several Cities under his Command, he ordered each of their Officers to inlist as many Peloponnesians as possible, and of those the best Men they could get, under pretence that Tissaphernes had a design upon those Cities. For the Cities of Ionia formerly be-

longed to Tissaphernes, having been given to him by the King, but at that time they had all revolted from him to Cyrus, except Miletus: The Inhabitants of which being engaged in the same Design, and Tissaphernes having early notice of their Intentions, put some of them to Death, and banished others; these Cyrus received, and raising an Army besieged Miletus both by Sea and Land, endeavouring to restore the banished Citizens: this he made another pretence for raising an Army; and sending to the King, he desired, that, as he was his Brother, he might have the Command of these Cities rather than Tissaphernes: In this also he was assisted by his Mother; so that the King was not sensible of the Design that was formed against him, but looking upon these Preparations as directed against Tissaphernes, was under no concern at their making War upon one another: For Cyrus sent the King all the Taxes, that were raised in those Cities, which had been under the Government of Tissaphernes.

He had also another Army raised for him in the Chersonesus, over-against Abydus, in this manner. There was a banished Lacedemonian, his Name Clearchus; Cyrus, becoming acquainted with him, admired the Man, and made him a Present of ten thousand Daricks; with which Money Clearchus raised an Army, and marching out of the Chersonesus, made War upon the Thracians, who inhabit above the Hellespont, which, being a great Advantage to the Greeks, induced the Cities upon the Hellespont to subsist his Forces with greater Chearfulness. Thus was this Army also secretly maintained for his Service. Aristippus of Thessaly, between whom and Cyrus there was an Intercourse of Hospitality, being oppressed by a contrary Faction at home, came to him, demanding two thousand Mercenaries, and their Pay for three Months, in hope, by their assistance, to subdue his Adversaries: Cyrus granted him four thousand Men, and six Months Pay, desiring him to come to no terms with his Adversaries without consulting him: In this manner the Army in Thessaly was also privately maintained for his Use. At the same time he ordered Proxenus the Bœotian, a Friend of his to attend him with all the Men he could raise, giving it out that he designed to make

War upon the Pisidians, who, it was said, infested his Country. He then ordered Sophænetus the Stymphalian, and Socrates the Achaian, with whom also he had an Intercourse of Hospitality, to come to him with as many Men as they could raise, pretending to make war upon Tissaphernes, in conjunction with the banished Milesians: These too obeyed his Commands.

Having now determined to march into the Upper Asia, he pretended his Design was to drive the Pisidians entirely out of the Country: and, as against them, he assembles there both his Barbarian and Greek Forces; commanding at the same time Clearchus with all his Troops to attend him, and Aristippus to come to an Agreement with his Fellow-Citizens, and send his Army to him. He also appointed Xenias the Arcadian, who had the Command of the Mercenaries in the several Cities, to come to him with all his Men, leaving only sufficient Garrisons in the Citadels. He next ordered all the Troops that were employed in the Siege of Miletus, together with the banished Citizens, to join him, engaging to the last, if his Expedition was attended with success, not to lay down his Arms, 'till he had restored them. These chearfully obeyed him, (for they gave credit to what he said) and, taking their Arms with them, came to Sardes. Xenias also came thither with the Garrisons he had drawn out of the Cities, consisting of four thousand heavy-armed Men. Proxenus brought with him fifteen hundred heavy-armed and five hundred light-armed Men. Sophænetus the Stymphalian a thousand heavy-armed; Socrates the Achaian about five hundred heavy-armed: Pasion the Magarean seven hundred Men. Both he and Socrates were among those who were employed in the Siege of Miletus. These came to him to Sardes. Tissaphernes observing all this, and looking upon these Preparations as greater than were necessary against the Pisidians, went to the King with all the haste he could, taking with him about five hundred Horse; and the King being informed by Tissaphernes of the intended Expedition of Cyrus, prepared himself to oppose him.

Cyrus, with the Forces I have mentioned, marched from Sardes; and advancing through Lydia, in three Days, made

twenty two Parasangas, as far as the River Mæander: this River is two Plethra in breadth; and having a Bridge over it supported by seven Boats, he passed over, and advanced through Phrygia, making in one day's March eight Parasangas, to Colosea, a large City, rich and well inhabited, where he staid seven Days, when Menon the Thessalian came to him with a thousand heavy-armed Men, and five hundred Targeteers, consisting of Dolopians, Ænians, and Olynthians. From thence he made, in three Days march, twenty Parasangas to Celænæ, a City of Phrygia, large, rich, and well inhabited: Here the Palace of Cyrus stood, with a large Park full of wild Beasts, which Cyrus hunted on Horseback, when he had a mind to exercise himself and his Horses: Through the middle of this Park runs the River Mæander, but the Head of it rises in the Palace; it runs also through the City of Celænæ. There is besides a fortified Palace belonging to the [1]great King in Celænæ, at the head of the River Marsyas, under the Citadel. This River likewise runs through the City, and falls into the Mæander; the Marsyas is twenty-five Feet broad: Here Apollo is said to have flayed Marsyas, whom contending with him in Musick, he had overcome, and to have hung up his Skin in the Cave, from whence the Springs flow: For this reason the River is called Marsyas. Here Xerxes, when he fled from Greece after his Defeat, is said to have built both this Palace, and the Citadel of Celænæ. Here Cyrus staid thirty Days, and hither Clearchus the banished Lacedæmonian came with a thousand heavy-armed Men, five hundred Thracian Targeteers, and two hundred Cretan Archers. At the same time Sosias the Syracusan came with a thousand heavy-armed Men, and Sophænetus the Arcadian with a thousand more. Here Cyrus reviewed the Greeks in the Park, and took an account of their Numbers; they amounted in the whole to eleven thousand heavy-armed Men, and about two thousand Targeteers.

From hence Cyrus made in two days march ten Parasangas, and arrived at Peltæ, a City well inhabited: there he staid

[1]This is the Title given by all the Greek Authors to the King of Persia, which is preserved to the Successors of Mahomet in that of the Grand Seignor.

three Days, during which, Xenias the Arcadian solemnized the Lupercalian Sacrifice, and celebrated a Game; the Prizes were golden Scrapers; at this Game Cyrus was present. From thence he made in two marches twelve Parasangas, and came to the Market of the Cramians, a City well inhabited, the last of the Country of Mysia. From thence he made in three days march thirty Parasangas, and arrived at a well peopled City called the Plain of Caÿstrus, where he staid five Days. There was now due to the Soldiers above three Months Pay, which they, coming often to his Door, demanded: He continued to give them Hopes, and was visibly concerned; for he was not of a Temper to deny Money, when he had it. Hither Epyaxa, the Wife to Syennesis King of the Cilicians, came to Cyrus; it was said she made him a Present of great Sums of Money. Cyrus therefore gave the Army four Months Pay at that time. The Cilician Queen had a Guard of Cilicians and Aspendians; and Cyrus was reported to have an Amour with her.

From thence he made, in two days march, ten Parasangas, and came to the City of Thymbrium, a Town well inhabited. Here was a Fountain near the Road, called the Fountain of Midas, King of Phrygia, where Midas is said to have caught the Satyr, by mixing the Fountain with Wine. From thence he made, in two days march, ten Parasangas, and arrived at Tyriæum, a populous Town, where he staid three Days. And here, it is said, the Cilician Queen desired Cyrus to shew her his Army; in compliance therefore with her Request, Cyrus reviewed in the Plain, both his Greek and Barbarian Forces; ordering the Greeks to dispose themselves, according to their Custom, and stand in Order of Battle, and that each of the Commanders should draw up his own Men; so they were drawn up four deep. Menon had the right with his People, and Clearchus the left with his Men; the rest of the Generals being in the Center. First therefore Cyrus viewed the Barbarians, (they marched by him drawn up in Troops, and Companies) then the Greeks, Cyrus driving by them on a Car, and the Cilician Queen in a Chariot. They had all brazen Helmets, scarlet Vests, Greaves, and burnished Shields.

After he had passed by them all, he stopped his Car in the Center of the Front, and sending Pigres his Interpreter to the Greek Generals, he ordered the whole Line to present their Pikes, and advance in Order of Battle: These conveyed his Orders to the Soldiers; who, when the Trumpets sounded, presented their Pikes and advanced; then marching faster than ordinary with Shouts, ran of their own accord to the Tents; upon this, many of the Barbarians were seized with Fear, the Cilician Queen quitted her Chariot, and fled; and the Sutlers leaving their Commodities, ran away: The Greeks, not without laughter, repaired to their Tents. The Cilician Queen, seeing the Lustre and Order of their Army, was in admiration, and Cyrus pleased to see the Terror with which the Greeks had struck the Barbarians.

Thence, in three days march, he made twenty Parasangas, and came to Iconium, the last City of Phrygia, where he staid three Days. Thence he made in five days march, thirty Parasangas through Lycaonia; which, being an Enemy's Country, he gave the Greeks leave to plunder it. From hence he sent the Cilician Queen into Cilicia the shortest way, and appointed Menon the Thessalian himself, with his Soldiers, to escort her. Cyrus, with the rest of the Army, moved on through Cappadocia, and in four days march, made five and twenty Parasangas to Dana, a large and rich City, well inhabited: Here he staid three Days, during which, he put to death Megaphernes, a Persian, one of his Courtiers, with another Person who had a principal Command, accusing them of Treachery. Thence they prepared to penetrate into Cilicia; the Entrance was just broad enough for a Chariot to pass, very steep, and inaccessible to an Army, if there had been any opposition; and Syennesis was said to have possessed himself of the Eminences, in order to guard the Pass; for which reason, Cyrus staid one Day in the Plain. The day after, News was brought by a Messenger that Syennesis had quitted the Eminences upon Information that both Menon's Army were in Cilicia within the Mountains, and also that Tamos was sailing round from Ionia to Cilicia with the Galleys, that belonged to the Lacedæmonians, and to Cyrus, who immediately marched up the Moun-

tains without opposition, and made himself master of the Tents, in which the Cilicians lay to oppose his Passage. From thence he descended into a large and beautiful Plain, well watered, and full of all sorts of Trees and Vines; abounding in Sesame, Panick, Millet, Wheat and Barley; and is surrounded with a strong and high Ridge of Hills from Sea to Sea.

After he had left the Mountains, he advanced through the Plain, and having made five and twenty Parasangas in four days march, arrived at Tarsus, a large and rich City of Cilicia, where stood the Palace of Syennesis King of Cilicia; having the River Cydnus running through the middle of it, and is two hundred Feet in breadth. This City was abandoned by the Inhabitants, who, with Syennesis, fled to a Fastness upon the Mountains, those only excepted who kept the publick Houses: But the Inhabitants of Soli and Issi, who lived near the Sea, did not quit their Habitations. Epyaxa, the Wife of Syennesis, came to Tarsus five Days before Cyrus. In the Passage over the Mountains into the Plain, two Companies of Menon's Army were missing. It was said by some, that, while they were intent on plunder, they were cut off by the Cilicians, and by others, that being left behind, and unable to find the rest of the Army, or gain the Road, they wandered about the Country, and were destroyed: The number of these amounted to one hundred heavy-armed Men. The rest, as soon as they arrived, resenting the loss of their Companions, plundered both the City of Tarsus, and the Palace that stood there. Cyrus, as soon as he entered the City, sent for Syennesis: but he, alledging that he had never yet put himself in the hands of any Person of superior Power, declined coming, 'till his Wife prevailed upon him, and received assurance from Cyrus: After that, when they met, Syennesis gave Cyrus great Sums of Money to pay his Army, and Cyrus made him such Presents, as are of great value among Kings; these were a Horse with a golden Bit, a Chain, Bracelets, and a Scimitar of Gold, with a Persian Robe, besides the Exemption of his Country from further plunder; to this he added the Restitution of the Prisoners they had taken, wherever they were found.

Here Cyrus and the Army staid twenty Days, the Soldiers declaring they would go no further; for they suspected he was leading them against the King, and said they were not raised for that Service. Clearchus was the first, who endeavoured to force his Men to go on; but as soon as he began to march, they threw Stones at him, and at his sumpter Horses, so that he narrowly escaped being then stoned to death. Afterwards, when he saw it was not in his power to prevail by force, he called his Men together, and first stood still a considerable time, shedding many Tears, while the Soldiers beheld him in amaze and silence; then spoke to them in the following manner:

"Fellow-Soldiers! wonder not that I am concerned at the present Posture of Affairs; for I am engaged to Cyrus by the Rights of Hospitality, and when I was banished, among other Marks of Distinction with which he honoured me, he gave me ten thousand Daricks: After I had received this Money, I did not treasure it up for my own use, or lavish it in Pleasures, but laid it out upon you: And first, I made war upon the Thracians, and with your Assistance, revenged the Injuries they had done to Greece, by driving them out of the Chersonesus, where they were endeavouring to dispossess the Greek Inhabitants of their Lands. After that, when I was summoned by Cyrus, I carried you to him with this view, that, if there were occasion, I might in return for his Favours, be of Service to him: but, since you refuse to go on with me, and I am under a necessity either, by betraying you, to rely on the Friendship of Cyrus, or, by being false to him, to adhere to you; though I am in doubt whether I shall do right or not; however, I have determined to give you the preference, and with you to suffer every thing that may happen: Neither shall any one say, that, having led Greeks among Barbarians, I betrayed the Greeks, and preferred the Friendship of the Barbarians; but, since you refuse to obey me, and to follow me, I will follow you, and share in all your Sufferings; for I look upon you as my Country, my Friends, and Fellow-Soldiers, and that with you I shall live in honour wherever I am, but without you, that I shall neither be useful to my Friends, or

formidable to my Enemies: Be assured therefore, that whither soever you go, I resolve to go with you." Thus spoke Clearchus: The Soldiers, both those who belonged to him and the rest of the Army, hearing this, commended him for declaring he would not march against the King; and above two thousand left Xenias and Pasion, and taking their Arms and Baggage with them, came and encamped with Clearchus.

These things gave Cyrus great Perplexity and Uneasiness: so he sent for Clearchus, who refused to go, but dispatched a Messenger to him, unknown to the Soldiers, with Encouragement, that this Affair would take a favourable Turn: he advised Cyrus to send for him, but at the same time let him know that he did not design to go to him. After this, assembling his own Soldiers, with those who were lately come to him, and as many of the rest as desired to be present, he spoke to them as follows:

"Fellow-Soldiers! it is certain the Affairs of Cyrus are in the same Situation in respect to us, with ours in regard to him; for neither are we any longer his Soldiers, since we refuse to follow him, neither does he any longer give us Pay. I know, he thinks himself unjustly treated by us; so that, when he sends for me, I refuse to go to him, chiefly through Shame, because I am conscious to myself of having deceived him in every thing; in the next place, through Fear, lest he should cause me to be apprehended and punished for the Wrongs he thinks I have done him. I am therefore of opinion, that this is no time for us to sleep, or to neglect the Care of our selves, but to consult what is to be done. If we stay, we are to consider by what means we may stay with the greatest Security; and if we resolve to go away, how we may go with the greatest Safety, and supply ourselves with Provisions; for without these, neither a Commander, or a private Man, can be of any use. Cyrus is a very valuable Friend, where he is a Friend, but the severest Enemy, where he is an Enemy. He is also Master of that Strength in Foot, Horse, and at Sea, which we all both see and are acquainted with, for truly we do not seem to be encamped at a great distance from him; so

that this is the time for every one to advise what he judges best:" Here he stopped.

Upon this some rose up of their own accord to give their Opinions; others, by his Direction, to shew the Difficulties either of staying or going without the Approbation of Cyrus: One, pretending to be in haste by returning to Greece, said, that, if Clearchus refused to conduct them thither, they ought immediately to chuse other Generals, to buy Provisions (there being a Market in the Barbarians Camp) and pack up their Baggage: then go to Cyrus and demand Ships of him to transport them; which if he refused, to desire a Commander to conduct them, as through a Friend's Country; and, if this also he refused, continued he, we ought forthwith to draw up a declaration of Battle, and send a Detachment to secure the Eminences, that neither Cyrus, nor the Cilicians, (many of whom we have taken Prisoners, and whose Effects we have plundered, and still possess,) may prevent us: after him Clearchus spoke to this effect:

"Let none of you propose me to be General in this Expedition, (for I see many things that forbid it) but consider me as one resolved to obey, as far as possible, the Person you shall chuse, that you may be convinced I also know as well as any other, how to submit to Command." After him another got up, shewing the Folly of the Man who advised to demand the Ships, as if Cyrus would not resume his Expedition; he shewed also how weak a thing it was to apply for a Guide to that Person whose Undertaking we had defeated. "If, says he, we can place any Confidence in a Guide appointed by him, what hinders us from desiring Cyrus himself to secure those Eminences for us? I own I should be unwilling to go on board the Transports he may give us, lest he should sink the Ships; I should also be afraid to follow the Guide he may appoint, lest he should lead us into some place, out of which we could not disengage ourselves; and since it is proposed we should go away without the consent of Cyrus, I wish we could also go without his Knowledge, which is impossible. These then are vain Thoughts; I am therefore of

opinion that proper Persons, together with Clearchus, should go to Cyrus, and ask him in what Service he proposes to employ us; and to acquaint him, that, if the present Undertaking be of the same nature with that in which he before made use of foreign Troops, we will follow him, and behave ourselves with equal bravery to those who attended him upon that occasion;[1] but if this Enterprize appears to be of greater Moment than the former, and to be attended with greater Labour and Danger, that we desire he will either prevail on us by Persuasion to follow him, or suffer himself to be prevailed upon to allow us to return home. By this means, if we follow him, we shall follow him, as Friends, with Chearfulness, and if we return, we shall return with Safety: And let them report to us what he says, which we may then consider of." This was resolved.

Having chosen the Persons therefore, they sent them with Clearchus, who asked Cyrus the Questions appointed by the Army; to which he made this answer: "I am informed, that Abrocomas, my Enemy, lies near the Euphrates, at the distance of twelve days march; therefore, my Intention is, if I find him there, to punish, by leading my Army against him; but if he flies from the place, I will there consider what we are to do." This coming to the ears of those who were appointed to attend Cyrus, made their Report to the Soldiers, who suspected his Design was to lead them against the King; yet they resolved to follow him; and when they demanded an Encrease of Pay, he promised to give them half as much more as they had already; that is, instead of one Darick, a Darick and a half every Month to each Man. But it was not even then known that he intended to lead them against the King, at least, it was not public.

Hence, he made in two days march ten Parasangas, to the River Pharus, which was three hundred Feet broad, From thence to the River Pyramus, which is one Stadium in breadth, making in one march five Parasangas; from which place, he

[1]The three hundred Greeks, who, as our Author tells us, attended Cyrus to Court under the Command of Xenias of Parrhasie.

made, in two days march, fifteen Parasangas, and arrived at Issus, the last Town of Cilicia, situated near the Sea; a large City, rich, and well inhabited, where he staid three days, during which time, five and thirty ships, with Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian, (the Admiral) at the head, sailed from Peloponnesus, and came to Cyrus, being conducted from Ephesus by Tamos, an Egyptian, who carried with him five and twenty other Ships belonging to Cyrus, with which he had besieged Miletus, because that City was in friendship with Tissaphernes, against whom, Tamos made war in conjunction with Cyrus. With these Ships also came Cheirisophus, the Lacedæmonian, whom Cyrus had sent for, with seven hundred heavy-armed Men, which he commanded under Cyrus, before whose Tent the Ships lay at Anchor. Hither also four hundred heavy-armed Greeks came to Cyrus, (leaving Abrocomas, in whose Service they were,) and marched with him against the King.

Hence Cyrus made in one march five Parasangas to the Gates of Cilicia and Syria: These were two Fortresses, of which the inner next Cilicia was possessed by Syennesis with a Guard of Cilicians, and the outer next to Syria, was said to be defended by the King's Troops: Between these two Fortresses runs a River called Kersus, one hundred Feet in breadth: The Interval between them was three Stadia in the whole, through which it was not possible to force a way; the Pass being narrow, the Fortresses reaching down to the Sea, and above were inaccessible Rocks. In both these Fortresses stood the Gates. In order to gain this Pass, Cyrus sent for his Ships, that, by landing his heavy-armed Men both within, and without the Gates, they might force their Passage through the Syrian Gates, if defended by the Enemy; which he expected Abrocomas, who was at the Head of a great Army would attempt: However, Abrocomas did not do this, but, as soon as he heard Cyrus was in Cilicia, he suddenly left Phœnicia, and went back to the King, with an Army, consisting, as it was said, of three hundred thousand Men.

Hereupon, Cyrus proceeded through Syria, and in one march, made five Parasangas to Myriandrus, a City near the

Sea, inhabited by the Phœnicians, which being a Mart-Town, where many Merchant Ships lay at Anchor, they continued seven days; during which, Xenias the Arcadian General, and Pasion the Megarean, took Ship, and putting their most valuable Effects on board, sailed away. It was the general Opinion, that this was owing to their Resentment against Clearchus, whom Cyrus had suffered to retain the Troops that left them, and put themselves under his Command with a view of returning to Greece, and not of marching against the King. As soon therefore as they disappeared, a Rumour was spread that Cyrus would follow them with his Galleys: Some wished that, having acted perfidiously, they might be taken: others pitied them, if they should fall into his hands.

Cyrus immediately assembled together the General Officers, and spoke thus to them: "Xenias and Pasion have left us, but let them be assured that they are not gone away so as to be concealed, (for I know whither they are going) neither are they escaped, (for my Galleys can come up with their Ship.) But I call the Gods to witness that I do not intend to pursue them, neither shall any one say, that, while People are with me, I use their Service; but that, when they desire to leave me, I seize them, treat them ill, and rob them of their Fortunes. Let them go therefore, and remember, they have behaved themselves worse to me, than I to them. Their Wives and Children are under a Guard at Tralles, however not even these shall they be deprived of, but shall receive them in return for the gallant Behaviour they have formerly shewn in my Service." The Greeks, if any before shewed a backwardness to the Enterprize, seeing this Instance of Cyrus's Virtue, followed him with greater Pleasure and Chearfulness.

After this, Cyrus in four days march made twenty Parasangas, and came to the River Chalus, which is one hundred Feet broad, and full of large tame Fish, which the Syrians look upon as Gods, and do not suffer them to be hurt any more than Pigeons. The Villages in which they encamped belonged to Parysatis, and were given to her for her Table. Thirty Parasangas more, in five days march, brought him to the source

of the River Daradax, the breadth of which was one hundred Feet, having near it the palace of Belesis, who was formerly governor of Syria, with a very large and beautiful Park producing every thing proper to the Season: Cyrus laid waste the Park, and burned the Palace. From thence in three days march he made fifteen Parasangas, and came to the River Euphrates, which is four Stadia in breadth; where, being the large and flourishing City of Thapsacus, they remained five days; during which, Cyrus, sending for the Generals of the Greeks, told them that he proposed marching to Babylon against the great King, and ordered them to acquaint the Soldiers with it, and to persuade them to follow him. Hereupon, they called them together, and informed them of it; but the Soldiers were angry with their Generals, saying they knew this before, but concealed it from them; therefore refused to march, unless they had Money given them, as the other Soldiers had, who before attended Cyrus to his Father, and that not to fight, but only to wait upon him, when his Father sent for him. The Generals immediately gave an account of this to Cyrus, who promised to give every Man five Minas of Silver, as soon as they came to Babylon, and their full Pay, 'till he brought them back to Ionia; by which means great part of the Greeks were prevailed upon: but Menon, before it appeared whether the rest of the Soldiers would follow Cyrus, or not, called his own Men together apart, and spoke thus to them:

"Fellow-Soldiers! if you will follow my Advice, you shall, without either Danger, or Labour, be in greater esteem with Cyrus, than the rest of the Army. What then do I advise? Cyrus is this minute entreating the Greeks to follow him against the King: I say, therefore, we ought to pass the Euphrates, before it appears what Answer the rest of the Greeks will make to him; for, if they determine to follow him, you will be looked upon as the Cause of it by first passing the River, and Cyrus will not only think himself under an Obligation to you, as to those who are the most zealous for his Service, but will return it, (which no Man better understands;) but if the rest determine otherwise, we will then all return: As you only are obedient to his Or-

ders, he will look upon you as persons of the greatest Fidelity, and as such employ you in the Command both of Garrisons and of Companies; and I am confident you will find Cyrus your Friend in whatever else you desire of him." The Soldiers, hearing this, followed his Advice, and passed the Euphrates, before the rest had returned an Answer: When Cyrus heard they had passed the River, he was pleased, and sending Glus to them, ordered him to say to them in his Name: "Soldiers! I praise you for what you have done, and will take care that you also shall have reason to praise me; if I do not, think me no longer Cyrus." Hereupon, the Soldiers conceiving great hopes, prayed for his Success; after which, [having, as it was reported, sent magnificent Presents to Menon] he, at the head of his Army, passed the River, the Water not reaching above their Breasts, notwithstanding the Inhabitants of Thapsacus declared, that the River was never fordable before, or passable but in Boats, which Abrocomas had burned, as he marched before them, to prevent Cyrus from passing over; it seemed therefore providential, and that the River visibly submitted to Cyrus, as to its future King.

From thence he advanced through Syria, and, having in nine days march made fifty Parasangas, came to the River Araxes: where, being many Villages full of Corn and Wine, they staid three Days, made their Provisions, and then proceeded through Arabia, keeping the River Euphrates on his right hand, and in five days march through a Desert, made thirty-five Parasangas. The Country was a Plain throughout, as even as the Sea, and full of Wormwood; if any other kinds of Shrubs, or Reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic Smell; but no Trees appeared. Of wild Creatures, the most numerous were wild Asses, and not a few Ostriches, besides Bustards, and Roe-Deer, which our Horsemen sometimes chased. The Asses, when they were pursued, having gained ground of the Horses, stood still (for they exceeded them much in speed) and when these came up with them, they did the same thing again: so that our Horsemen could take them by no other means but by dividing themselves into Relays, and succeeding one another in the Chace. The Flesh of those that were taken

was like that of red Deer, but more tender. None could take an Ostrich; the Horsemen, who pursued them, soon giving it over: for they flew far away as they fled, making use both of their Feet to run, and of their Wings, when expanded, as a Sail to waft them along. As for the Bustards, they may be taken, if one springs them hastily, they making short flights, like Partridges, and are soon tired. Their flesh was very delicious.

In marching through this Country they came to the River Masca, a hundred Feet in breadth, surrounding a large City uninhabited, called Corsote; whence, after continuing three days, making their Provisions, he made ninety Parasangas in thirteen days march, through a Desert, still keeping the Euphrates on his right, and came to Pylæ; during which Marches, many sumpter Horses died of Hunger, there being no Grass nor any other plant, but the whole Country entirely Barren; the Inhabitants being employed near the River with digging Mill-stones, which they afterwards fashioned and conveyed to Babylon for sale to buy Provisions for their support. By this time the Army wanted Corn, and there was none to be bought, but in the Lydian Market, which was in the Camp of the Barbarians, belonging to Cyrus, where a Capithe of Wheat, or Barley-Meal was sold for four Sigli. The Siglus is worth seven Attick Oboli and a half; and the Capithe holds two Attick Chœnixes[1]: so that the Soldiers lived upon Flesh. Some of these Marches were very long, when Cyrus had a mind his Army should go on 'till they came to water or forage. And once where the Road was narrow and so deep, that the Carriages could not pass without difficulty, Cyrus stopped with those about him of the greatest Authority, and Fortune, and ordered Glus and Pigres to take some of the Barbarians belonging to his Army, and help the Carriages through; but, thinking they went slowly about it, he commanded as in Anger, the most considerable Persians, who were with him, to assist in hastening on the Carriages, which afforded an Instance of their ready Obedience; for, throwing off their purple Robes, where each of them happened to stand,

[1]Pecks.

they ran, as if it had been for a Prize, even down a very steep Hill, in their costly Vests, and embroidered Drawers, some even with Chains about their Necks, and Bracelets round their Wrists; and, leaping into the Dirt with these, they lifted up the Carriages, and brought them out sooner than can be imagined. Upon the whole, Cyrus appeared throughout to hasten their march, stopping, no where unless to get Provisions, or for other things that were very necessary; he judging the quicker he marched, the more unprepared the King would be to encounter him, and the slower, the more numerous would be the King's Army; for it was obvious to any Person of Attention, that the Persian Empire, though strong with regard to the Extent of Country, and Numbers of Men, was however weak by reason of the great Distance of Places, and the Division of its Forces, when surprised by a sudden Invasion.

In their march through the Desert, they discovered a large and populous City situated on the other side of the Euphrates, called Carmande, where the Soldiers bought Provisions, having passed over to it upon Rafts, by filling the Skins, which they made use of for Tents, with dry Hay, and sewing them together so close, that the Water could not get therein: these Provisions were such as Wine made of the Fruit of the Palm-Tree, and Panic, there being great plenty of this in the Country. 'Twas here, that a dispute arose between Menon's Soldiers, and those of Clearchus; the latter, thinking one of Menon's Men in the wrong, struck him; the Soldier, thereupon informed his Companions of it, who not only resented it, but were violently incensed against Clearchus, who, the same day, after he had been at the place where the Men passed the River, and inspected the Provisions, rode back to his own Tent with a few Attendants through Menon's Army; and before the arrival of Cyrus, who was on his way thither, it happened that one of Menon's Soldiers, as he was riving Wood, saw Clearchus riding threw the Camp, and threw his Ax at him, but missed him; then another, and another threw Stones at him, upon which, a great Outcry ensuing, many did the same. However, Clearchus escaped to his own Quarter, and immediately ordered his Men to their Arms; command-

ing the heavy-armed Soldiers to stand still, resting their Shields against their Knees, and taking with him the Thracians and the Horse, of whom he had above forty in his Army, the greatest part Thracians, he rode up to Menon's Men, who thereupon, were in great Consternation, as well as Menon himself, and ran to their Arms, while others stood amazed, not knowing what to do; but Proxenus, for he happened to be coming after them at the head of his heavy-armed Men, advanced between them both, and making his Soldiers stand to their Arms, begged of Clearchus to desist. But he took it very ill, that, having narrowly escaped being stoned to death, the other should speak tamely of his Grievance; and therefore desired he would withdraw from between them. In the mean time Cyrus came up, and being informed of what had happened, immediately took his Arms, and with the Persians who were present, rode between them, and spoke to them in the following manner: "Clearchus! and Proxenus! and you Greeks who are present! you are not sensible of what you are doing; for, if you fight with one another, be assured, that I shall this day be destroyed, and you not long after; for, if our Affairs decline, all these Barbarians, whom you see before you, will be greater Enemies to you than those belonging to the King." Clearchus, hearing this, came to himself, and both sides resigning their Anger, laid up their Arms where they were before.

While they were marching forward, there appeared the Footing and Dung of Horses, which, by the Print of their Feet, were judged to be about two thousand, marching before, burning all the Forage, and every thing else that could be of any use. There was a Persian, by Name Orontas, a Prince of the Blood, and of Reputation, in military Affairs, equal to the most considerable among the Persians; having formed a Design to betray Cyrus, with whom he had before been at war; but, being now reconciled, told Cyrus, that, if he would give him a thousand Horse, he would place himself in Ambuscade, and either destroy those Horse that burned all before him, or take many of them Prisoners, which would prevent them both from burning the Country, and from being able

to inform the King that they had seen his Army. Cyrus thinking this Proposal for his Service, ordered him to take a Detachment out of every Troop belonging to the several Commanders.

Orontas, presuming the Horse were ready, wrote a Letter to the King, acquainting him, that he should come to him with as many Horse as he could get, and desiring him to give Orders at the same time, to his own Horse that they should receive him as a Friend; reminding him also of his former Friendship and Fidelity. This Letter he gave to a trusty Person, as he thought, who, as soon as he had received it, delivered it to Cyrus; who immediately commanded Orontas to be apprehended, and caused seven of the most considerable Persians about him to assemble in his Tent; and, at the same time, upon giving Orders to the Greek Generals for bringing their heavy-armed Men, and place them round his Tent, with their Arms in their Hands, they obeyed his Commands, and brought with them about three thousand heavy-armed Men. He also called Clearchus to the Council, as a Man, whom both he, and the rest looked upon to be of the greatest Dignity among the Greeks. When he came out, he gave his Friends an account of the Trial of Orontas, (for Secrecy was not enjoined,) and of the Speech which Cyrus made, as follows:

Friends! I have called you hither to the end that I may consider with you of what is most just both in the sight of Gods and Men, and accordingly proceed against this Criminal Orontas. In the first place, my Father appointed this Man to be my subject; afterwards, by the Command, as he says, of my Brother, he made war upon me, being then in possession of the Citadel of Sardes; this War I prosecuted in such a manner, as to dispose him to desire an end of it, and I received his Hand, and gave him mine; since that time, say Orontas, have I done you any Injury? To which he answered, None. Cyrus again asked him, Did not you afterwards, without any Provocation from me, as you yourself own revolt to the Mysians, and lay waste my Country to the utmost of your Power? Orontas owned it. After that (continued Cyrus)

when you again became sensible of your want of power, did not you fly to the Altar of Diana, profess repentance, and having prevailed with me, give me again your Faith, and receive mine? This also Orontas confessed. What Injury then, (says Cyrus) have I done you, that you should now, for the third time, be found endeavouring to betray me? Orontas saying that he was not provoked to it by any Injury, Cyrus continued, You own then you have wronged me? I am under a necessity of owning it, replied Orontas; upon which, Cyrus asked him again, Can you yet be an Enemy to my Brother, and a Friend to me? Though I should, says Orontas, O Cyrus! you will never think me so.

Hereupon, Cyrus said to those who were present, Such are the Actions of this Man, and such his Words: at the same time, desiring the Opinion of Clearchus, who delivered it as follows: My Advice is, that this Man be forthwith put to death, to the end that we may no longer be under a necessity of guarding against his Practices, but have leisure, being freed from him, to do good to those who desire to be our Friends: after which, upon declaring the rest were unanimous in this Advice, they all rose up, and, together with his Relations, by Order of Cyrus, laid hold on Orontas's Girdle, as a Token of his being condemned; and instantly led out by the proper Officers; when, although in that dishonourable situation, those who used to prostrate themselves before him, even then paid him the same Veneration, though they knew he was leading to death. He was carried into the Tent of Artapates, who was in the greatest Trust with Cyrus of any of his Sceptre-Bearers; from which time, no one ever saw Orontas either alive or dead, nor could any one certainly relate how he was put to death, though various Conjectures were made about it; neither was it ever known that any Monument was erected to his memory.

Cyrus next proceeded through the Country of Babylon, and after compleating twelve Parasangas in three days march, reviewed his Forces, both Greeks and Barbarians, in a Plain about Midnight, (expecting the King would appear the next

Morning, at the Head of his Army, ready to give him Battle) giving the Command of the right Wing to Clearchus, and that of the left to Menon the Thessalian, while he himself drew up his own Men. After the Review, and as soon as the Day appeared, there came Deserters from the great King, bringing an account of his Army to Cyrus, who thereupon called together the Generals and Captains of the Greeks, and advised with them concerning the Order of Battle; at the same time encouraging them by the following Persuasions: O Greeks! it is not from any want of Barbarians, that I make use of you as my Auxiliaries, but, because I look upon you as superior to great Numbers of them; for that reason I have taken you also into my Service: Shew yourselves therefore worthy of that Liberty you enjoy, in the possession of which I think you extremely happy; for be assured that I would prefer Liberty before all things I possess, with the Addition of many others. But, that you may understand what kind of Combat you are going to engage in, I shall explain it to you: Their Numbers are great, and they come on with mighty Shouts, which if you can withstand, for the rest I am almost ashamed to think what kind of Men you will find our Country produces. But you are Soldiers; behave yourselves with Bravery, and, if any one of you desires to return home, I will take care to send him back the Envy of his Country; but I am confident that my Behaviour will engage many of you rather to follow my Fortunes, than return home.

Gaulites, a banished Samian, a Man of Fidelity to Cyrus, being present, spoke thus; It is said by some, O Cyrus! that you promise many things now, because you are in such imminent Danger, which upon any Success, you will not remember; and by others, that, though you should remember your Promises, and desire to perform them, it will not be in your power. Cyrus then replied; Gentlemen! my paternal Kingdom to the South, reaches as far as those Climates that are uninhabitable through Heat, and to the North, as far as those that are so through Cold: Every thing between is under the Government of my Brother's Friends; and, if we conquer, it becomes me to put you, who are my Friends, in

possession of it; so that I am under no apprehension, if we succeed, lest I should not have enough to bestow on each of my Friends; I only fear, lest I should not have Friends enough, on whom to bestow it: But to each of you Greeks, besides what I have mentioned, I promise a Crown of Gold.[1] Hereupon, the Officers espoused his Cause with greater Alacrity, and made their Report to the rest; after which, the Greek Generals, and some of the private Men, came to him to know what they had to expect, if they were victorious; all whom he sent away big with hopes; and all who were admitted, advised him not to engage personally, but to stand in the Rear: Clearchus himself put this Question to him; Are you of Opinion, O Cyrus! that your Brother will hazard a Battle? Certainly, answered Cyrus: If he is the Son of Darius and Parysatis, and my Brother, I shall never obtain all this without a stroke.

While the Soldiers were accomplishing themselves for the Action, the number of the Greeks was found to amount to ten thousand four hundred heavy-armed Men, and two thousand four hundred Targeteers; and that of the Barbarians in the Service of Cyrus, to one hundred thousand Men, with about twenty Chariots armed with Scythes. The Enemy's Army was said to consist of twelve hundred thousand Men, and two hundred Chariots armed with Scythes, besides six thousand Horse, under the Command of Artagerses, all which were drawn up before the King, whose Army was commanded by four Generals, Commanders and Leaders, Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces, who had each the command of three hundred thousand Men; but of this Number, nine hundred thousand only were present at the Battle, together with one hundred and fifty Chariots armed with Scythes; for,

[1]Plutarch has given us the Substance of a most magnificent Letter, written by Cyrus, to the Lacedæmonians, desiring their Assistance against his Brother; he there tells them, that, if the Men, they send him, are Foot, he will give them Horses; if Horsemen, Chariots; if they have Country Houses, he will give them Villages; if Villages, Cities; and that they shall receive their Pay by Measure, and not by Tale.

Abrocomas coming out of Phœnicia, arrived five Days after the Action. This was the Account the Deserters gave to Cyrus before the Battle, which was afterwards confirmed by the Prisoners. From thence Cyrus, in one day's march, made three Parasangas, all his Forces, both Greeks and Barbarians, marching in Order of Battle; because he expected the King would fight that day; for, in the middle of their March, there was a Trench cut five Fathom broad, and three deep; extending twelve Parasangas upwards, traversing the Plain as far as the Wall of Media. In this Plain are four Canals derived from the River Tigris; being each one hundred Feet in breadth, and deep enough for Barges laden with Corn, to sail therein: they fall into the Euphrates; and are distant from one another one Parasanga, having Bridges over them.[1]

The great King, hearing Cyrus was marching against him, immediately caused a Trench to be made, (by way of Fortification,) near the Euphrates; close to which also, there was a narrow Pass, through which Cyrus and his Army marched, and came within the Trench; when, finding the King did not engage that day, by the many Tracks that appeared both of Horses and Men which were retreated, he sent for Silanus, the Soothsayer of Ambracia, and (agreeable to his promise) gave him three thousand Daricks, because the eleventh Day before that, when he was offering Sacrifice, he told Cyrus, the King would not fight within ten Days; upon which, Cyrus said, "If he does not fight within that time, he will not fight at all; and, if what you say proves true, I'll give you ten Talents." Since therefore the King had suffered the Army of Cyrus to

[1]Arrian differs very much from our Author, in relation to these Canals; he says, that the Level of the Tigris is much lower than that of the Euphrates, and consequently all the Canals that run from the one to the other, are derived from the Euphrates, and fall into the Tigris. In this, he is supported by Strabo and Pliny, who say, that in the Spring, when the Snows melt upon the Hills of Armenia, the Euphrates would overflow the adjacent Country, if the Inhabitants did not cut great numbers of Canals to receive and circulate this Increase of Water, in the same manner as the Egyptians distribute that of the Nile.

march through this Pass unmolested, both Cyrus and the rest concluded that he had given over all Thoughts of fighting; so that the next day Cyrus marched with less Circumspection; and the third day, rode on his Car, very few marching before him in their Ranks; great part of the Soldiers observed no Order, many of their Arms being carried in Waggons, and upon sumpter Horses.

It was now about the time of Day,[1] when the Market is usually crowded, the Army being near the place, where they proposed to encamp, when Patagyas, a Persian, one of those whom Cyrus most confided in, was seen riding towards them full speed, his Horse all in a Sweat, and he calling to every one he met, both in his own Language, and in Greek, that the King was at hand with a vast Army, marching in Order of Battle; which occasioned a general Confusion among the Greeks, all expecting he would charge them, before they had put themselves in Order: but Cyrus leaping from his Car, put on his Corslet, then mounting his Horse, took his Javelins in his Hand, ordered all the rest to arm, and every Man to take his Post; by virtue of which Command they quickly formed themselves, Clearchus on the right Wing, close to the Euphrates, next to him Proxenus, and after him the rest: Menon and his Men were posted upon the left of the Greek Army. Of the Barbarians, a thousand Paphlagonian Horse, with the Greek Targeteers, stood next to Clearchus on the right: upon the left, Ariæus, Cyrus's Lieutenant-General was placed with the rest of the Barbarians: they had large Corslets, and Cuisses, and all of them Helmets but Cyrus, who placed himself in the Center with six hundred Horse, and stood ready for the Charge, with his Head unarmed; in which manner, they say it is also customary for the rest of the Persians to expose themselves in a day of Action: all the Horses in Cyrus's Army had both Frontlets and Breast-plates, and the Horsemen Greek Swords.

It was now the middle of the Day, and no Enemy was yet to be seen; but in the Afternoon there appeared a Dust like

[1] Nine o'clock.

a white Cloud, which not long after spread itself like a Darkness over the Plain; when they drew nearer, the brazen Armour flashed, and their Spears and Ranks appeared; having on their left, a Body of Horse armed in white Corslets (said to be commanded by Tissaphernes) and followed by those with Persian Bucklers, besides heavy-armed Men with wooden Shields, reaching down to their Feet, (said to be Egyptians) and other Horse, and Archers; all which marched according to their respective Countries, each Nation being drawn up in a solid oblong square; and before them were disposed at a considerable distance from one another, Chariots armed with Scythes fixed aslant at the Axle-Trees, with others under the Body of the Chariot, pointing downwards, that so they might cut asunder every thing they encountered, by driving them among the Ranks of the Greeks, to break them; but it now appeared that Cyrus was greatly mistaken when he exhorted the Greeks to withstand the Shouts of the Barbarians; for they did not come on with Shouts, but as silently and quietly as possible, and in an equal and slow march. Here Cyrus, riding along the Ranks with Pigres the Interpreter, and three or four others, commanded Clearchus to bring his Men opposite to the Center of the Enemy, (because the King was there) saying, if we break that, our Work is done: but Clearchus, observing their Center, and understanding from Cyrus that the King was beyond the left Wing of the Greek Army, (for the King was so much superior in number, that, when he stood in the Center of his own Army, he was beyond the left Wing to that of Cyrus) Clearchus, I say, would not however be prevailed on to withdraw his right from the River, fearing to be surrounded on both sides; but answered Cyrus, he would take care all should go well.

Now the Barbarians came regularly on; and the Greek Army standing on the same Ground, the Ranks were formed, as the Men came up; in the mean time, Cyrus riding at a small distance before the Ranks, surveying both the Enemy's Army and his own, was observed by Xenophon an Athenian, who rode up to him, and asked whether he had any thing to command; Cyrus, stopping his Horse, ordered him to let them

all know, that the Sacrifices and Victims promised success. While he was saying this, upon hearing a noise running through the Ranks, he asked him what meant it? Xenophon answered, that the Word was now giving for the second time; Cyrus, wondering who should give it, asked him what the Word was; the other replied, Jupiter the Preserver, and Victory: Cyrus replied, I accept it, let That be the Word: After which, he immediately returned to his Post, and the two Armies being now within three or four Stadia of each other, the Greeks sung the Pæan, and began to advance against the Enemy; but the Motion occasioning a small Fluctuation in the Line of Battle, those who were left behind, hastened their march, and at once, gave a general Shout, as their Custom is when they invoke the God of War, and all ran forward, striking their Shields with their Pikes (as some say) to frighten the Enemy's Horses; so that, before the Barbarians came within reach of their Darts, they turned their Horses and fled, but the Greeks pursued them as fast as they could, calling out to one another not to run, but to follow in their Ranks: some of the Chariots were borne through their own People without their Charioteers, others through the Greeks, some of whom seeing them coming, divided; while others being amazed, like Spectators in the Hippodrome, were taken unawares; but even these were reported to have received no harm, neither was there any other Greek hurt in the Action, except one upon the left Wing, who was said to have been wounded by an Arrow.

Cyrus seeing the Greeks victorious on their side, rejoiced in pursuit of the Enemy, and was already worshipped as King by those about him; however, he was not so far transported as to leave his Post, and join in the Pursuit: but, keeping his six hundred Horse in a Body, observed the King's Motions; well knowing that he was in the Center of the Persian Army; for in all Barbarian Armies, the Generals ever place themselves in the Center, looking upon that Post as the safest, on each side of which their Strength is equally divided; and, if they have occasion to give out any Orders, they are received in half the time by the Army. The King therefore being at that time in the Center of his own Battle, was however

beyond the left Wing of Cyrus; and, when he saw none opposed him in front, nor any Motion made to charge the Troops that were drawn up before him, he wheeled to the left, in order to surround their Army; whereupon, Cyrus fearing he should get behind him, and cut off the Greeks, advanced against the King, and charging with his six hundred Horses, broke those who were drawn up before him, put the six thousand Men to flight, and, as they say, killed Artagerses, their Commander, with his own hand.

These being broken, and the six hundred belonging to Cyrus dispersed in the Pursuit, very few were left about him and those almost all Persons who used to eat at his Table: however, upon discovering the King, properly attended, and, unable to contain himself, immediately cried out; I see the Man; then ran furiously at him, and, striking him on the Breast, wounded him through his Corslet, (as Ctesias the Physician says, who affirms that he cured the Wound) having while he was giving the Blow, received a wound under the Eye, from somebody, who threw a Javelin at him with great force; at the same time, the King and Cyrus engaged hand to hand, and those about them, in defence of each.[1] In this Action Ctesias, (who was with the King) informs us how many fell on his side; on the other, Cyrus himself was killed, and eight of the most considerable Friends lay dead upon him. When Artapates, who was in the greatest Trust with Cyrus of any of his sceptred Ministers, saw him fall, they say, he leaped from his Horse, and threw himself about him; when, (as some say) the King ordered him to be slain upon the Body

[1] I cannot help noting here a very fine Passage in Plutarch in his Life of Artaxerxes, where he excuses himself for not entering into the Detail of this Battle, because Xenophon had already described it in so masterly a Stile, that he thinks it folly to attempt it after him; he says, that many Authors have given an Account of this memorable Action, but that Xenophon almost shews it, and, by the Clearness of his Expression, makes his Reader assist with Emotion at every Incident, and partake of every Danger, as if the Action was not past, but present. The same Author calls the Place where this Battle was fought, Cunaxa.

of Cyrus; though others assert, that, drawing his Scimitar, he slew himself; for, he wore a golden Scimitar, a Chain, Bracelets, and other Ornaments, which are worn by the most considerable Persians; and was held in great esteem by Cyrus, both for his Affection and Fidelity.

Thus died Cyrus! a Man universally acknowledged by those who were well acquainted with him, to have been, of all the Persians since the ancient Cyrus, indued with the most princely Qualities, and the most worthy of Empire. First, while he was yet a Child, and educated with his Brother, and other Children, he was looked upon as superior to them All in all things: For all the Children of the great Men in Persia are brought up at Court, where they have an opportunity of learning great Modesty, and where nothing immodest is ever heard or seen. There the Children have constantly before their Eyes, those who are honoured and disgraced by the King, and hear the Reasons of both: So that while they are Children, they presently learn to command, as well as to obey: Cyrus was observed to have more Docility than any of his Years, and to shew more Submission to those of an advanced Age, than any other Children, though of a Condition inferior to his own; he was also observed to excel not only in his Love of Horses, but in his Management of them; and in those Exercises that relate to War, such as Archery and lancing of Darts, they found him the most desirous to learn, and the most indefatigable. When in the Flower of his Age; he was, of all others, the fondest of Hunting, and in hunting, of Danger: And once, when a Bear rushed upon him, he did not decline the Encounter, but closed with her, and was torn from his Horse, when he received those Wounds, of which he ever after wore the Scars; at last he killed the Bear, and the Person, who first ran to his assistance, he made a happy Man in the eyes of all that knew him

When he was sent by his Father Governor of Lydia, the greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and was declared General of all those who are obliged to assemble in the Plain of Castolus, the first thing he did was to shew, that, if he entered into a League, engaged in a Contract, or made a Promise,

his greatest Care was never to deceive; for which reason both the Cities that belonged to his Government, and private Men, placed a Confidence in him: And, if any one had been his Enemy, and Cyrus had made Peace with him, he was under no apprehension of suffering by a Violation of it: So that, when he made war against Tissaphernes, all the Cities, besides Miletus, willingly declared for him: And these were afraid of him, because he would not desert their banished Citizens; for he shewed by his Actions, as well as his Words, that, after he had once given them assurance of his Friendship, he would never abandon them, though their Number should yet diminish, and their Condition be yet impaired. It was evident that he made it his endeavour to outdo his Friends in good, and his Enemies in ill Offices; and it was reported that he wished to live so long, as to be able to overcome them both, in returning both. There was no one Man therefore of our Time, to whom such numbers of People were ambitious of delivering up their Fortunes, their Cities, and their Persons.

Neither can it be said, that he suffered Malefactors and Robbers to triumph; for to these he was of all Men, the most inexorable. It was no uncommon thing to see such Men in the great Roads deprived of their Feet, their Hands, and their Eyes; so that any Person, whether Greek or Barbarian, might travel whithersoever he pleased, and with whatsoever he pleased, through the Country under his Command, and provided he did no Injury, be sure of receiving none. It is universally acknowledged that he honoured, in a particular manner, those who distinguished themselves in Arms. His first Expedition was against the Pisidians and Mysians; which he commanded in Person, and those whom he observed forward to expose themselves, he appointed Governors over the conquered Countries, and distinguished them by other Presents; so that brave men were looked upon as most fortunate, and Cowards as deserving to be their Slaves; for which reason, great numbers presented themselves to danger, where they expected Cyrus would take notice of them.

As for Justice, if any Person was remarkable for a particular regard to it, his chief care was, that such a one should enjoy a greater Affluence than those, who aimed at raising their Fortunes by unjust means. Among many other Instances therefore of the Justice of his Administration, this was one, that he had an Army which truly deserved that Name, for the Officers did not come to him from Countries on the other side of the Sea, for Gain, but, because they were sensible that a ready Obedience to Cyrus's Commands was of greater Advantage to them, than their monthly Pay; and indeed, if any one was punctual in the execution of his Orders, he never suffered his Diligence to go unrewarded; for which reason, it is said, that Cyrus was the best served of any Prince in all his Enterprizes. If he observed any Governor of a Province joining the most exact Oeconomy with Justice, improving his Country, and encreasing his Revenue, he never took any share of these Advantages to himself but added more to them; so that they laboured with Chearfulness, enriched themselves with Confidence, and never concealed their possessions from Cyrus, who was never known to envy those who owned themselves to be rich; but endeavoured to make use of the Riches of all who concealed them. It is universally acknowledged, that he possessed, in an eminent degree, the Art of cultivating those of his Friends, whose Good-will to him he was assured of, and whom he looked upon as proper Instruments to assist him in accomplishing any thing he proposed; as an acknowledgement for which, he endeavoured to shew himself a most powerful assistant to them in every thing he found they desired.

As, upon many accounts, he received, in my opinion, more Presents than any one Man, so, of all Men living, he distributed them to his Friends, with the greatest Generosity, and in this Distribution consulted both the Taste, and the Wants of every one. And, as for those Ornaments of his Person that were presented to him, either as of use in War, or Embellishments to Dress, he is said to have expressed this Sense of them, that it was not possible for him to wear them all, but that he looked upon a Prince's Friends, when richly

dressed, as his greatest Ornament. However, it is not so much to be wondered at, that, being of greater Ability than his Friends, he should out-do them in the Magnificence of his Favours; but, that he should surpass them in his Care and his Earnestness to oblige, is, in my opinion, more worthy of Admiration. He frequently sent his Friends small Vessels half full of Wine, when he received any that was remarkably good, letting them know, that he had not for a long time tasted any that was more delicious; besides which he also frequently sent them half Geese, and half Loaves, &c., ordering the Person who carried them to say, Cyrus liked these things, for which reason he desires you also to taste of them. Where Forage was very scarce, and he, by the Number and Care of his Servants, had an opportunity of being supplied with it, he sent to his Friends, desiring they would give the Horses, that were for their own riding, their share of it, to the end they might not be oppressed with Hunger, when they carried his Friends. When he appeared in publick upon any occasion, where he knew many People would have their eyes upon him, he used to call his Friends to him, and affected to discourse earnestly with them, that he might shew whom he honoured. So that by all I have heard, no Man, either of the Greeks or Barbarians, ever deserved more esteem from his Subjects: this, among others, is a remarkable Instance: No one ever deserted from Cyrus, though a Subject, to the King; Orontas alone attempted it, yet he soon found, that the Person on whose Fidelity he depended, was more a Friend to Cyrus than to him: many who had been most in favour with Cyrus, came over to him from the King after the War broke out between them, with this Expectation, that in the Service of Cyrus their Merit would be more worthily rewarded than in that of the King. What happened also to him at his Death, made it evident, that he was not only himself a good Man, but that he knew how to make choice of those, who were faithful, affectionate, and constant; even when he was killed, all his Friends and his Favourites died fighting for him, except Ariæus, who, being appointed to the Command of the Horse on the left Wing, as soon as he heard that Cyrus was killed, fled with all that Body which was under his Command.

When Cyrus was dead, his Head and right Hand were cut off upon the spot, and the King, with his Men, in the Pursuit, broke into his Camp; while those with Ariæus no longer made a stand, but fled through their own Camp to their former Post, which was said to be four Parasangas from the Field of Battle. The King, with his Forces, among many other things, took Cyrus's Mistress, a Phocæan, who was said to be a Woman of great Sense and Beauty. The other, a Milesian, who was the younger of the two, was also taken by the King's Troops, but escaped naked to the Quarter of the Greeks, who were left to guard the Baggage. These, forming themselves, killed many of those who were plundering the Camp, and lost some of their own Men; however, they did not fly, but saved the Milesian, with the Men and Effects, and, in general, every thing else that was in their Quarter. The King and the Greeks were now at the distance of about thirty Stadia from one another, pursuing the Enemy that were opposite to them, as if they had gained a compleat Victory; and the King's Troops plundering the Camp of the Greeks, as if they also had been every where victorious. But, when the Greeks were informed, that the King, with his Men were among their Baggage, and the King, on his side, heard from Tissaphernes, that the Greeks had put those before them to flight, and were gone forward in the Pursuit, he then rallied his Forces, and put them in order. On the other side, Clearchus consulted with Proxenus, who was nearest to him, whether they should send a Detachment, or should all march to relieve the Camp.

In the mean time the King was observed to move forward again, and seemed resolved to fall upon their Rear; upon which, the Greeks faced about, and put themselves in a posture to march that way, and receive him: However, the King did not advance that way; but, as before, passed beyond their left Wing,[1] led his Men back the same way, taking along with him those who had deserted to the Greeks during the Action, and also Tissaphernes with his Forces: for Tissaphernes did not

[1] Xenophon considers the Greek Army as it stood when the Battle began, otherwise after they had faced about, their left Wing was become their right.

fly at the first Onset, but penetrated with his Horse, where the Greek Targeteers were posted, quite as far as the River: However, in breaking through, he killed none of their Men, but the Greeks dividing, wounded his People both with their Swords and Darts. Episthenes of Amphipolis commanded the Targeteers, and is reported to have shewn great Conduct upon this occasion. Tissaphernes therefore, as sensible of his Disadvantage, departed, when, coming to the Camp of the Greeks, found the king there, and reuniting their Forces, they advanced, and presently came opposite to the left of the Greeks, who being afraid they should attack their Wing, by wheeling to the right and left, and annoy them on both sides; they resolved to open that Wing, and cover the Rear with the River. While they were consulting upon this, the King marched by them, and drew up his Army opposite to theirs, in the same Order in which he first engaged: whereupon, the Greeks, seeing they drew near in Order of Battle, again sung the Pæan, and went on with much more Alacrity than before; but the Barbarians did not stay to receive them, having fled sooner than the first time, to a Village, where they were pursued by the Greeks, who halted there; for there was an Eminence above the Village, upon which the King's Forces faced about. He had no Foot with him, but the Hill was covered with Horse in such a manner, that it was not possible for the Greeks to see what was doing: However, they said they saw the royal Ensign there, which was a golden Eagle with its Wings extended, resting upon a Spear. When the Greeks advanced towards them, the Horse quitted the Hill, not in a Body, but some running one way, and some another: However, the Hill was cleared of them by degrees, and at last they all left it. Clearchus did not march up the Hill with his Men, but, halting at the foot of it, sent Lycius the Syracusan, and another, with Orders to reconnoitre the place, and make their Report; Lycius rode up the Hill, and, having viewed it, brought Word that the Enemy fled in all haste. Hereupon the Greeks halted, (it being near Sun set) and lying under their Arms, rested themselves; in the mean time wondering, that neither Cyrus appeared, nor any one from him; not knowing he was dead but imagined, that he was either led away by the Pursuit, or had rode forward to

possess himself of some Post: however, they consulted among themselves, whether they should stay where they were, and send for their Baggage, or return to their Camp: to the latter they resolved upon, and arriving at their Tents about Supper-time, found the greatest part of their Baggage plundered, with all the Provisions, besides the Carriages which, as it was said, amounted to four hundred, full of Flour and Wine, which Cyrus had prepared, in order to distribute them among the Greeks, lest at any time his Army should labour under the want of Necessaries; but they were all so rifled by the King's Troops that the greatest part of the Greeks had no Supper, neither had they eaten any Dinner; for, before the Army could halt in order to dine, the King appeared. And in this manner they passed the Night.

BOOK II

In the foregoing Book we have shewn, by what means Cyrus raised an Army of Greeks, when he marched against his Brother Artaxerxes, what was performed during his March, and in what manner the Battle was fought, how Cyrus was killed, and the Greeks, thinking they had gained a compleat Victory, and that Cyrus was alive, returned to their Camp, and betook themselves to rest. As soon as the Day approached, the Generals, being assembled, wondered that Cyrus neither sent them any Orders, or appeared himself; resolved therefore to collect what was left of their Baggage, and armed themselves to move forward in order to join Cyrus; but just as they were on the point of marching, and as soon as the Sun was risen, Procles, who was Governor of Teuthrania, a Descendant from Damaratus the Lacedæmonian, and Glus, the Son of Tamos, came to them, and declared that Cyrus was dead, and that Ariæus had left the Field, and was retired with the rest of the Barbarians, to the Camp they had left the Day before; where he said he would stay for them that Day, if they thought fit to come; but that the next, he should return to Ionia, whence he came. The Generals, and the rest of the Greeks, hearing this, were greatly afflicted; and Clearchus with astonishment said, "Would to God Cyrus was alive! but since he is dead, let Ariæus know, that we have overcome the King,

and, as you see, meet with no further Resistance, and that, if you had not come, we had marched against the King; at the same time, assure Ariæus from us, that, if he will come hither, we will place him on the Throne: for those who gain the Victory, gain with it a right to command." After he had said this, he directly sent back the Messengers, together with Cherisophus the Lacedæmonian, and Menon the Thessalian: for Menon himself desired it, he being a Friend to Ariæus, and engaged to him by an Intercourse of Hospitality. Clearchus staid 'till they returned, making Provisions as well as he could, by killing the Oxen and Asses that belonged to the Baggage; and, instead of other Wood, made use of the Arrows, which they found in great Quantities in the Field of Battle, not far from the place where their Army lay, (and which the Greeks obliged the Deserters to pull out of the Ground) and also of the Persian Bucklers, and the Egyptian Shields, that were made of Wood, besides a great many Targets, and empty Waggons; with all which they dressed their Victuals, and, in this manner, supported themselves that Day.

It was now about the time the Market is generally full, when the Heralds arrived with the Message from the King and Tissaphernes, all of whom were Barbarians, (except Phalinus, who was a Greek, and happened then to be with Tissaphernes, by whom he was much esteemed; for he pretended to understand Tactics, and the Exercise of Arms) who, after assembling together the Greek Commanders, said, that the King, since he had gained the Victory, and killed Cyrus, ordered the Greeks to deliver up their Arms, and, repairing to Court, endeavour to obtain some favourable Terms from the King. The Greeks received this with much Indignation; however, Clearchus said no more to them than that, It was not the Part of Conquerors to deliver up their Arms; but (addressing himself to the Generals) do you make the best and most becoming Answer you can, and I will return immediately: (he being called out by one of his Servants to inspect the Entrails of the Victim, which he was then offering up in Sacrifice.) Whereupon, Cleanor the Arcadian, the oldest Person present, made answer, "They would sooner die than deliver up their

Arms." Then Proxenus, the Theban, said, "I wonder, O Phalinus! whether the King demands our Arms, as a Conqueror; or, as a Friend, desires them by way of Present; if, as a Conqueror, what occasion has he to demand them? Why does he not rather come and take them? if he would persuade us to deliver them, say, what are the Soldiers to expect in return for so great an Obligation?" Phalinus answered; "The King looks upon himself as Conqueror, since he has killed Cyrus; for who is now his Rival in the Empire? He looks upon you also as his Property, since he has you in the middle of his Country, surrounded by impassable Rivers; and can bring such numbers of Men against you, that, though he delivered them up to you, your Strength would fail you before you could put them all to death."

After him Xenophon an Athenian, said, "You see, O Phalinus! that we have nothing now to depend upon, but our Arms, and our Courage; and, while we are Masters of our Arms, we think we can make use of our Courage also; but that, when we deliver up these, we deliver up our Persons too; do not therefore expect we shall deliver up the only Advantages we possess; on the contrary, be assured, that with these we are resolved to fight with you, even for those you are in possession of." Phalinus, hearing this, smiled, and said, "Young Man! indeed you seem to be a Philosopher, and speak handsomely; but, believe me, you are mistaken, if you imagine, that your Courage will prevail over the Power of the King." However, it was reported, that others, whose Resolution began to fail, said, that, as they had been true to Cyrus, they would also be of great service to the King, if he were disposed to be their Friend; and that, whatever Commands he had for them, they would obey him; and, if he proposed to invade Egypt, they would assist him in the Conquest of it. In the mean time, Clearchus returned, and asked if they had already given their Answer. To whom Phalinus said, "These Men, O Clearchus! say one, one thing, and another, another; but pray let us have your Thoughts." To which he replied; I rejoice, O Phalinus! to see you, as, I am persuaded, all these do, who are present; for you are a Greek, as well as we, whom

you see before you in so great numbers; wherefore, in our present Circumstances, we desire you to advise us what we ought to do with regard to the Proposals you bring; and intreat you, by all the Gods, give us that Advice, which you think best, and most becoming, and which will do you most honour in the Eyes of Posterity, when it shall be said, that Phalinus, being sent by the King with Orders to the Greeks that they should deliver up their Arms, and, being consulted by them, gave them this Advice: for you are sensible, that your Advice, whatever it is, must be reported in Greece." Clearchus insinuated this, with a view of engaging the King's Embassador himself to advise them not to deliver up their Arms, that, by this means, the Greeks might entertain better hopes: But Phalinus artfully avoided the Snare, and, contrary to his Expectation spoke as follows:

"If you had the least hope of a thousand to preserve yourselves by making war against the King, I should advise you not to deliver up your Arms; but, if you cannot hope for Safety without his Concurrence, I advise you to preserve yourselves by the only means you can." Clearchus replied, "This, I find, is your Sense of the Matter; and this Answer you are desired to return from us; that we think, if it is proposed we should be Friends to the King, we shall be more valuable Friends by preserving our Arms, than by parting with them; and that, if we are to go to war with him, we shall make war with greater advantage by keeping our Arms, than by delivering them." Phalinus said, "I shall report this Answer: However, the King ordered me also to let you know, that, if you stay where you are, you will have Peace; but, if you advance or march back, you must expect War: let me have your Answer also to this; and whether I shall acquaint the King, that you will stay here, and accept of Peace, or that you declare for War." Clearchus replied, "Let the King know, that in this we are of the same opinion with him." What is that? said Phalinus. Clearchus answered, "If we stay there may be Peace, but, if we march back, or advance, War." Phalinus again asked, "Shall I report peace or war?" Clearchus replied, "Peace, if we stay, and, if we march back, or ad-

vance, War"; but did not declare what he proposed to do. So Phalinus, and those with him, went away.

In the mean time Procles and Cherisophus came from Ariæus, leaving Menon with him, and brought word that Ariæus said, there were many Persians of greater Consideration than himself, who would never suffer him to be their King: but desires, if you propose marching away with him, that you will come to him to-night; if not, he says he will depart the next Morning early. Clearchus answered, what you advise is very proper, if we join him; if not do whatever you think expedient to your advantage; for he would not acquaint even these with his Purpose. After this, when it was Sun-set, he assembled the Generals and Captains, and spoke to them as follows: "Gentlemen! I have consulted the Gods by Sacrifice, concerning marching against the King, and the Victims, with great reason, forbid it; for I am now informed, that, between us and the King, lies the Tigres, a navigable River, which we cannot pass without Boats; and these we have not: neither is it possible for us to stay here, for we are without Provisions. But the Victims were very favourable to the Design of joining Cyrus's Friends. The Order therefore we ought to pursue, is this; let every Man retire, and sup upon what he has; and, when the Horn sounds to rest, pack up your Baggage; when it sounds a second time, charge the sumpter Horses; and, when a third, follow your Leader, and let the Baggage march next to the River, and the heavy-armed Men cover it." The Generals and Captains hearing this, departed, and did as they were directed; Clearchus having taken upon him the command of the Army, who submitted to him, not, as having elected him to that Employment, but, because they were sensible that he alone was equal to the Command, the rest being without Experience. They had made from Ephesus, (a City of Ionia,) to the Field of Battle, ninety-three Marches, which amounted to five hundred and thirty-five Parasangas, or sixteen thousand and fifty Stadia: and, from the Field of Battle to Babylon, it was computed there were three thousand and sixty Stadia.

After this, as soon as it was dark, Miltocythes, the Thra-

cian, with his Horse, being forty in number, and three hundred Thracian Foot, deserted to the King. Clearchus, in the manner he had appointed, led the rest, and, about Midnight, arrived at their first Camp, where they found Ariæus with his Army; and the Men being drawn up and standing to their Arms, the Generals and Captains of the Greeks went in a body to Ariæus, and both they and he, with the most considerable Men about him, took an Oath not to betray one another, and to become Allies: The Barbarians also swore that they would conduct them without Deceit. This was the Substance of their Oath, which was preceded by the Sacrifice of a Boar, a Bull, a Wolf, and a Ram, whose Blood being all mixed together in the hollow of a Shield, the Greeks dipped a Sword therein, and the Barbarians a Spear.[1] When they had pledged their Faith, Clearchus said, "Since, O Ariæus! your Rout and ours are the same, say, what is your Opinion concerning our march? Shall we return the same way we came, or have you thought of any other more convenient?" Ariæus, answered, "If we return the same way we came, we shall all perish with Hunger; since we are now entirely destitute of Provisions: for, during the last seventeen days march, we could supply ourselves with nothing out of the Country, even in our way hither; and, whatever was found there, we have consumed in our Passage; so that though the way we now propose to take is longer, yet we shall be in no want of Provisions. We must make our first Marches as long as ever we can, to the end we may get as far as possible from the King's Army: for, if we can once gain two or three days march of him, it will not after that be in his power to overtake us: Since with a small Army he will not dare to follow us, and with a great one he will not be able

[1]The Custom of giving a Sanction to solemn Leagues and Treaties, by the Sacrifice of particular Animals, is very ancient: Thus the Agreement between the Greeks and Trojans, and the single Combat of Paris and Menelaus, which was consequent to it, was preceded by the Sacrifice of three Lambs, one to the Earth, another to the Sun, and a third to Jupiter. The Blood of the Victims was often mixed with Wine, and sometimes received in a Vessel, in which the contracting Parties dipped their Arms, as Herodotus informs us was practised by the Scythians.

to make quick marches; it is also probable he may want Provisions." This, says he, is my Opinion.

This Scheme, for the march of the Army was calculated for nothing but a Retreat, or a Flight; but Fortune proved a more glorious Conductor. As soon therefore as it was Day, they began their march, with the Sun on their right, expecting to arrive by Sun-set at some Villages that lay in the Country of Babylon; and in this they were not mistaken. But in the Afternoon they thought they saw the Enemy's Horse; upon which, not only the Greeks, who happened to have left their Ranks, ran to them in all haste, but Ariæus also alighting, (for being wounded, he was carried in a Chariot) put on his Corslet, as did all those about him. But, while they were arming, the Scouts, who had been sent out, brought word, that they were not Horse, but only sumpter Horses at Pasture, whence every one presently concluded that the King's Camp was not far off: For a Smoke also appeared in the neighbouring Villages. However, Clearchus did not lead them against the Enemy (for he knew the Men were tired, and had eaten nothing all Day; besides it was late); neither did he march out of the way, avoiding the Appearance of a Flight; but leading them directly forward, at Sun-set he quartered with the Vanguard, in the Villages nearest to him, out of which the King's Army had carried away even the Timber that belonged to the Houses. Those who arrived first, encamped with some kind of Uniformity, but the others who followed, coming up when it was dark, quartered, as they could, and made so great a noise in calling out to one another, that the Enemy heard them, of whom those who lay nearest to the Greeks ran away, leaving even their Tents; which being known the next Day; no sumpter Horses or Camp appeared, neither was there any Smoke to be seen in the Neighbourhood; and the King himself it seems was struck at the Approach of our Army, by what he did the next day.

On the other side, the Night advancing, the Greeks also were seized with Fear, which was attended with a Tumult and Noise, usual in such cases; upon this, Clearchus ordered

Tolmides of Elis, the best Cryer of his time, whom he happened to have with him, to command silence, and make Proclamation from the Commanders, that, whoever gave Information of the Person, who had turned the Ass into the Quarter of the heavy-armed Men, should receive the Reward of a silver Talent. By this Proclamation, the Soldiers understood, that their fear was vain, and their Commanders safe. At break of Day, Clearchus ordered the Greeks to stand to their Arms in the same Disposition they had observed in the Action.

What I said concerning the King's being terrified at our Approach, became then manifest; for, having sent to us the Day before, demanding our Arms, sent also Heralds by Sunrise to treat of a Truce: when, coming to the Out-guards, enquired for the Commanders; Clearchus, who was then viewing the Ranks, ordered them to stay 'till he was at leisure; and, as soon as he had drawn up the Army with much Elegance, the Ranks being closed on all sides, and no unarmed Men to be seen, sent for the Messengers; came forward himself, attended by those of his Soldiers, who were the best armed, and most graceful in their Persons, desiring the rest of the Generals to do the like, and asked the Messengers what they wanted? they replied; they were Persons come to treat of a Truce, being properly qualified to carry Messages between the King and the Greeks. He answered, let the King know, that first we must fight: for we have nothing to dine on, and there is no Man so hardy as to mention a Truce to the Greeks, unless he first provides them a Dinner. The Messengers, hereupon departed, but returning presently, (by which it appeared that the King was near at hand, or some other Person, who was appointed to transact this matter) brought Word; the King thought their Demand very reasonable, and that they had with them, Guides, who, if a Truce were concluded, should conduct them to a place, where they would find Provisions. Clearchus then asked, whether the King proposed to comprehend those only in the Truce, who went between him and them, or whether it should extend to all; they said to all, 'till the King is informed of your Proposals. Whereupon Clearchus, ordering them to withdraw immediately, held a Council, where it was

resolved to conclude a Truce, and to march peaceably to the place where the Provisions were, and supply themselves therewith. Clearchus said, I join with you in this opinion; however, I will not directly acquaint the Messengers with our Resolution, but defer it 'till they apprehend lest we should reject the Truce. I imagine that our Soldiers also will lie under the same Apprehension. Therefore, when he thought it time, he let them know that he would enter into a Truce, and immediately ordered the Guides to conduct them where they might get Provisions.

Clearchus, upon marching with his Army in Order of Battle, to conclude the Truce, having himself taken charge of the Rear, met with Ditches and Canals full of Water, so that they were not able to pass without Bridges, which they made with Palm-Trees, having found some lying upon the Ground, and others they cut down. Upon this occasion it might be observed, how equal Clearchus was to the Command; for, taking his Pike in his left Hand, and a [1]Staff in his right, if he saw any of those he had appointed to this Service, backward in the execution of it, he displaced him, and substituted a proper Person in his room, he himself, at the same time, going into the Dirt, and assisting them; so that every one was ashamed not to be active. He had appointed Men of thirty Years of Age to this Service, but, when those of a more advanced Age, saw Clearchus forwarding the Work in Person, they gave their Assistance also. Clearchus pressed it the more, because he suspected the Ditches were not always so full of Water, (for it was not the Season to water the Country) imagining the King had ordered the Waters to be let out, with this view, that the Greeks might foresee great Difficulties attending their march.

At last, coming to the Villages, where the Guides told them they might supply themselves with Provisions, they found plenty of Corn, and Wine made of the Fruit of the Palm-Tree,

[1]The Lacedæmonian Commanders carried a Staff or Stick, (I am afraid of calling it a Cane) possibly for the same purpose, as the Roman Centurions used a Vitis, that is, to correct their Soldiers.

and also Vinegar drawn, by boiling, from the same Fruit. These Dates, such as we have in Greece, they give to their Domesticks; but those which are reserved for the Masters, are chosen Fruit, and worthy of Admiration, both for their Beauty and Size, having in all respects, the Appearance of Amber, and so delicious, that they are frequently dried for Sweet-meats: The Wine that was made of it, was sweet to the Taste, but apt to give the Head-ach: Here the Soldiers eat, for the first time, the Pith of the Palm-Tree, many admiring both the Figure, and its peculiar Sweetness, although it also occasioned violent Head-achs; but the Palm-Tree, whence this Pith was taken, withered entirely. Here they staid three Days; during which, Tissaphernes, with the Queen's Brother, and three other Persians, coming from the great King, attended by many Slaves, were met by the Greek Generals, when Tissaphernes, by an Interpreter, first spoke in the following manner:

"I live, O Greeks! in the Neighbourhood of Greece; and, seeing you involved in many insuperable Difficulties, looked upon it as a piece of good Fortune, that I had room to request the King to allow me to conduct you safe into Greece: for I imagine, I shall find no want of Gratitude either in you, or in the whole Greek Nation; upon which Consideration, I made my request to the King, alledging, that I had a Title to this Favour, because I was the first Person, who informed him that Cyrus was marching against him, and, together with this Information, brought an Army to his Assistance: And also, because I was the only Commander in that part of the Army, opposite to the Greeks, who did not fly, but broke through, and joined the King in your Camp; whither he came, after he had killed Cyrus; and, with these Troops, here present, who are most faithful to him, I pursued the Barbarians belonging to Cyrus. These things, the King said, he would take into Consideration; but commanded me to ask you, what Motive induced you to make war upon him? I advise you to answer with Temper, that I may, with the greater ease, obtain some favour for you, from the King."

Upon this, the Greeks withdrew, and, having consulted

together, Clearchus made answer, "We did not come together with a design of making War upon the King, neither did we march against him: But Cyrus found many Pretences, as you very well know, that he might take you unprepared, and lead us hither. However, when we saw him in Difficulties, our Respect both to Gods, and Men, would not allow us to abandon him, especially since we had formerly given ourselves leave to receive Obligations from him: But since Cyrus is dead, we neither contend with the King for his Kingdom, nor have any reason to desire to infest his Country: neither do we mean to destroy him, but to return home, provided no one molests us; but, if any Man offers an Injury to us, we shall, with the Assistance of the Gods, endeavour to revenge it. And, if any one confers a Favour on us, we shall not, to the utmost of our power, be behind-hand in returning it."

Tissaphernes in answer to this, replied; "I shall acquaint the King, and immediately return with his Sentiment; 'till then, let the Truce continue; in the mean time we will provide a Market for you." The next Day he did not return, which gave the Greeks some uneasiness; but the third Day he came, and informed them, that he had prevailed upon the King to allow him to conduct them safe to Greece, though many opposed it, alledging, that it was unbecoming the Dignity of the King, to suffer those to escape, who had made war upon him. He concluded thus; "And now you may rely upon the Assurance we give you, that we will effectually cause the Country to treat you as Friends, conduct you without Guile into Greece, and provide a Market for you: And, wherever we do not provide one, we allow you to supply yourselves out of the Country. On your side, you must take an Oath to us, that you will march, as through a Friend's Country, without doing any damage to it, and only supply yourselves with Meat, and Drink, when we do not provide a Market for you; and, when we do, that you will pay for what you want." This was agreed upon; and Tissaphernes, with the Queen's Brother, took the Oath, and gave their Hands to the Greek Generals, and Captains, and received those of the Greeks; after which, Tissaphernes said, I must now return to the King, and, when I have

dispatched what is necessary, I will come back to you with all things in readiness both to conduct you into Greece, and return myself to my own Government.

Hereupon, the Greeks and Ariæus, being encamped near to one another, waited for Tissaphernes above twenty Days; during which, the Brothers, and other Relations of Ariæus, came to him, and some of the Persians came to those who were with him, giving them Encouragement, and Assurances from the King, that he would forget their taking up Arms against him in favour of Cyrus, and every thing else, that was past. While these things were transacting, it was manifest that Ariæus and his People paid less regard to the Greeks: many of whom, therefore, being dissatisfied, came to Clearchus, and to the rest of the Generals, saying, "Why do we stay here? Do we not know, that the King desires, above all things, to destroy us, to the end that all the rest of the Greeks may be deterred from making War against him? He now seduces us to stay, because his Army is dispersed, which being re-assembled, it is not to be imagined, but that he will attack us: Possibly also he may obstruct our march, either by digging a Trench, or raising a Wall in some convenient place, in such a manner, as to render it impracticable. For he will never willingly suffer us to return to Greece, and publish, that, being so few in number, we have defeated his Army at the very Gates of his Palace, and returned in triumph."——

Clearchus replied to those who alledged this; "I consider all these things as well as you; but I consider at the same time, that, if we now depart, it will be thought, our Intention is to declare War, and to act contrary to the Terms of the Truce; the Consequence of which, will be, that no one will provide a Market for us, or a Place, where we may supply ourselves: besides, we shall have no Guide to conduct us; and the moment we enter upon these Measures, Ariæus will desert us; so that we shall presently have no Friend left, and even those, who were so before, will become our Enemies. I don't know whether we have any other River to pass, but we all know that it is not possible for us to pass the Euphrates, if the Enemy

oppose it. If we are obliged to fight, we have no Horse to assist us, whereas those of the Enemy, are very numerous, and very good; so that, if we conquer, how many shall we be able to kill? And, if we are conquered, none of us can possibly escape. Therefore I don't see why the King, who is possessed of so many Advantages, should, if he desires to destroy us, think it necessary first to take an Oath, and pledge his Faith, then to provoke the Gods by Perjury, and shew both the Greeks and Barbarians, how little that Faith is to be relied on." He said a great deal more to the same purpose.

In the mean time Tissaphernes arrived with his Forces, as if he designed to return home, and with him Orontas also with his Men, and the King's Daughter, whom he had married. From thence they began their march, Tissaphernes leading the way, and providing them with a Market. Ariæus marched at the Head of the Barbarians, who had served under Cyrus, with Tissaphernes and Orontas, and encamped with them. The Greeks, being diffident of these, marched by themselves, having Guides to conduct them. Each of them always encamped separately, at the distance of a Parasanga, or less; and were each upon their Guard against one another, as against an Enemy, and this immediately created a Suspicion: Sometimes, while they were providing themselves with Wood, Forage, or other things of that nature, they came to Blows; which also bred ill Blood between them. After three days march, they came to, and passed through the Wall of Media, which was built with burned Bricks laid in Bitumen; being twenty Feet in thickness, one hundred in height; and, as it was said, twenty Parasangas in length, and not far from Babylon.

From thence they made, in two days march, eight Parasangas, and passed two Canals, one upon a Bridge, the other upon seven Pontons: These Canals were derived from the Tigris; from them Ditches were cut that ran into the Country, the first, broad, then narrower, which at last ended in small Water-courses, such as are used in Greece to water Panic. Thence they came to the River Tigris, near which stood a large and populous City, called Sitace, at the distance of fifteen Sta-

dia from the River; the Greeks encamped close to the Town, near a large and beautiful Park, thick with Trees of every kind, and the Barbarians on the other side of the Tigris, but out of sight of our Army. After Supper Proxenus and Xenophon happened to be walking before the Quarter where the heavy-armed Men lay encamped; when a Man came and asked the Out-guards, where he might speak with Proxenus or Clearchus; but did not enquire for Menon, though he came from Ariæus, with whom Menon lived in Hospitality: and, when Proxenus told him he was the Person he enquired after, the Man said, Ariæus and Artaezus, who were faithful to Cyrus, and wish you well, sent me to advise you to stand upon your guard, lest the Barbarians attack you to-night, there being numerous Forces posted in the neighbouring Park. They advise you also to send a Detachment to guard the Bridge over the Tigris, because Tissaphernes designs, if he can, to break it down to-night; to the end, that you may not be able to pass the River, but be shut in between the Tigris, and the Canal. Hereupon, they carried him to Clearchus, and informed him of what he said; upon which, Clearchus was in great Trouble and Consternation; when a young Man, who was present, having considered the matter, said, "To attack us, and break down the Bridge too, are things inconsistent; for it is plain, if they attack us, they must either conquer, or be conquered: if they conquer, why should they break down the Bridge? For, in that case, though there were many Bridges, we should have no Place to retreat to with safety: on the other side if we conquer them, and the Bridge be broken down, they themselves will have no Place to fly to; neither can the rest of their Army, though in great numbers on the other side, if they break it down, give them any Assistance."

Clearchus, hearing this, asked the Messenger, of what Extent the Country was, that lay between the Tigris, and the Canal: he answering; it was of a large Extent, and contained, besides Villages, many large Cities; they concluded, that the Barbarians had sent this Man insidiously, from an Apprehension, lest the Greeks should not pass the Bridge, but remain in the Island, which was defended on one side, by the

Tigris, and on the other, by the Canal; where the Country, that lay between, being large, and fruitful, and in no want of Labourers to cultivate it, might both supply them with Provisions, and afford them a Retreat, if they were disposed to make War upon the King: after which, they went to Rest; however, they sent a Detachment to guard the Bridge: but no Attempt of any kind was made upon their Camp, neither did any of the Enemy come up to the Bridge, as the Guards informed us. The next Morning, by break of Day, they passed the Bridge, which was supported by thirty-seven Pontons, with all possible Precaution: for, some of the Greeks, who were with Tissaphernes, sent word, that the Enemy designed to attack them in their Passage; but this did not prove true. However, while they were passing the River, Glus appeared with some others, observing whether they passed it or not; when, perceiving they did, he rode off.

From the Tigris they made, in four days march, twenty Parasangas, and came to the River Physcus, one hundred Feet in breadth, having a Bridge over it. Here stood a large and populous City, called Opis, where they were met by a natural Brother to Cyrus and Artaxerxes, who was marching to the Assistance of the King, at the head of a numerous Army, which he had drawn out of Susa and Ecbatana; and, causing his Troops to halt, he took a view of the Greeks, as they passed by him. Clearchus led his Men two by two, standing still from time to time: Thus, while the Vanguard halted, the whole Army was obliged to stand still which made their Forces appear very numerous, even to the Greeks themselves, and the Persian was struck with the sight. From thence they made, in six days march, thirty Parasangas, through the desert Part of Media, and arrived at the Villages belonging to Parysatis, the Mother to Cyrus and Artaxerxes: These Tissaphernes, to insult the Memory of Cyrus, gave the Greeks leave to plunder of every thing but Slaves; by which means they found a great Quantity of Corn, Cattle, and other things. From thence they made twenty Parasangas, in five days march through a desert, having the Tigris on their left. At the end of their first Day's march, they saw a large and rich City, on

the other side of the River, called Cænæ; whence the Barbarians transported Bread, Cheese, and Wine upon Rafts made of Skins.

After that, they came to the River Zabatus, four hundred Feet in breadth, where they staid three days, during which time, there were Jealousies, but no Evidence of Treachery: Clearchus therefore resolved to have a Conference with Tissaphernes, and, if possible, to put an end to these Jealousies, before they broke out into Hostilities: with this view he sent a Person, to let him know that he desired a Conference with him. Tissaphernes having readily answered, he might come; Clearchus spoke thus: "I am sensible, O Tissaphernes! that we have sworn, and pledged our Faith, not to do any Injury to one another. Notwithstanding which, I observe you are upon your guard against us, as against an Enemy; and we, perceiving this, stand also upon our guard. But, since upon Consideration I cannot find that you endeavour to do us any mischief, and am very sure that we have not the least Thought of hurting you, I judged it proper to have a Conference with you, to the end that we might, if possible, extinguish our mutual Diffidence: for I have known Men, who, while through Calumnies or Jealousies, they stood in fear of one another, have, with a View of inflicting a Mischief before they received one, done irreparable Injuries to those, who never had either the Intention, or Desire to hurt them. As therefore I am of opinion, that such Mistakes are easiest removed by Conferences, I come with an Intention of convincing you, that you have no reason to distrust us: for to mention that first, which is of the greatest moment; our Oaths, to which we have called the Gods to witness, forbid us to be Enemies; and that Person who is conscious to himself of having neglected them, in my opinion, can never be happy; for, whoever becomes the Object of divine Wrath, I know no Swiftness can save him, no Darkness hide him, no strong Place defend him; since, in all Places, all Things are subject to their Power, and every where they are equally Lords of all. This is my Opinion concerning both our Oaths, and the Gods, whom, by our Agreement, we have made the Depositaries of our Friendship. As to human

Advantages, I look upon you to be the greatest we can promise ourselves at this juncture; for, while we are with you, every Road is pervious, every River passable, and we are sure to know no want: but, without you, every Road becomes obscure, (for we are utterly unacquainted with them) every River impassable, every Multitude terrible, and Solitude the most terrible of all; for that is attended with the want of every thing. If therefore we should arrive to such a degree of Madness, as to put you to death, what should we do else but destroy our Benefactor, and still have the King, the most powerful of all Avengers, to contend with? I shall now let you see what hopes I should deprive myself of, if I endeavoured to hurt you. I desired to make Cyrus my Friend, because I looked upon him as the most capable of all Men living to serve those he wished well to. Now, I find, you have not only obtained the Army, but the Country, that belonged to Cyrus, as an Accession to your own; and that the King's Power, of which he felt the Weight, is become your Support. In these Circumstances therefore, who would be so mad as not to desire to be your Friend? Yet further I shall let you know upon what I found my hopes, that you will also desire to be a Friend to us: I know the Mysians are troublesome to you; these, with the Forces under my Command, I hope I can oblige to submit to your Power: I know the same thing of the Pisidians, and am informed that many other Nations are in the same Disposition, who, by my means, shall cease for ever to disturb your Happiness. I find you are incensed against the Egyptians, more than against any other Nation, and cannot see what Forces you can better employ than ours, to assist you in chastising them. If you desire to be a Friend to any of your Neighbours, your Friendship, through our means, will become most valuable; and, if any of them molest you, you may, as their Superior, destroy them by our Assistance; for we shall not only be subservient to you for the sake of our Pay, but also in return for the Obligation we shall justly owe to you, as to our Deliverer. When I consider all these things I am so much surprized to find you diffident of us, that I would willingly know the Person, who is so powerful an Orator, as to persuade you, that we form Designs against you."

Tissapnernes answered: "I am pleased to hear you speak with so much prudence; for while you entertain these Thoughts if you should meditate anything against me, you would, at the same time, act contrary to your own Interest: but do you hear me in your turn, while I inform you, that you yourselves cannot, with justice, distrust either the King, or me; for, if we were desirous to destroy you, do you think we are in any want of numerous Horse, or Foot to effect it? or of Arms defensive and offensive, with which we have it in our power to do you mischief, without the danger of receiving any? Or do you think we want proper Places to attack you? Are there not so many Plains inhabited by our Friends, through which you must march with great difficulty? So many Mountains within your sight, over which your Road lies, and which, by our possessing ourselves of them, we can render impassable to you? So many Rivers which afford us the Advantage of chusing out what numbers of you we think proper to engage? Some of these you cannot even pass but by our Assistance. But say, we are inferior in all these: Fire at least will prove superior to the Fruits of the Earth. By burning these we can oppose Famine to you, with which, though you are ever so brave, you will not be able to contend. Why therefore should we, who have so many Opportunities of making war upon you, none of which carry any Danger with them, chuse the only one of all these, that is both impious and dishonourable; the Refuge of those, who are destitute of all others, distressed and driven to Extremities, and who, being at the same time wicked Men, resolve to accomplish their Designs through Perjury towards the Gods, and Breach of Faith towards Men? We are not, O Clearchus! either so weak, or so void of Reason. When it was in our power to destroy you, why did we not attempt it? Be assured, the desire I had of approving my Fidelity to the Greeks was the Reason; and that, as Cyrus marched against the King, relying on foreign Forces, from the Pay he gave them; so I might return home supported by the same Troops, from the Obligations I had conferred on them. As to the many things, in which you may be of service to me, some of them you have mentioned; but I know, which is the greatest: It is the Prerogative of the King to wear an upright Turban

upon his Head; but, with your Assistance possibly another may, with some Confidence, wear it in his Heart."

Clearchus, thinking all he said to be true, replied; "Since therefore we have so many Motives to be Friends, do not those, who, by Calumnies, endeavour to make us Enemies, deserve the severest Punishment?" "If you, says Tissaphernes, with the rest of the Generals, and Captains, think fit to come to me in publick, I will acquaint you with those, who aver that you have Designs against me and my Army." "I will bring them all, says Clearchus; and, at the same time, let you know, in my turn, whence I received my Information concerning you." As soon as this Conference was over, Tissaphernes shewed him great Civility, and, desiring him to stay, entertained him at Supper. The next day Clearchus, returning to the Camp, made it manifest that he entertained very friendly Thoughts of Tissaphernes, and gave an Account of what he proposed. He said, those Tissaphernes demanded, ought to go to him; and that the Persons who were found to be the Authors of these Calumnies, ought to be punished as Traitors and ill-affected to the rest of the Greeks: for he suspected Menon to be one of them, knowing that he and Ariæus had been in Conference with Tissaphernes, and that he was forming a Party against him, and intriguing in order to draw the whole Army to a dependence upon himself; and, by that means, to recommend himself to Tissaphernes. Clearchus also himself was no less solicitous to engage the Esteem of the whole Army, and to remove those, who opposed him: but some of the Soldiers in contradiction to him, said, that all the Generals and Captains ought not to go, neither ought they to trust Tissaphernes. However, Clearchus so strongly insisted upon it, that he prevailed to have five Generals, and twenty Captains sent to him: about two hundred Soldiers followed, under colour of going to the Market.

When they came to the Door of Tissaphernes, the Generals, Proxenus a Bœotian, Menon a Thessalian, Agias an Arcadian, Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian, and Socrates an Achaian, were called in; the Captains staid without: Not long after,

at the same Signal, those who were within, were apprehended, and those without, cut to pieces. After this, some of the Barbarian Horse, scouring the Plain, killed all the Greeks they met with, both Freemen and Slaves. The Greeks, from their Camp, seeing these Excursions of the Horse, were surprized, and in doubt of what they were doing, 'till Nicarchus, an Arcadian, came flying from them, being wounded in the Belly, and bearing his Bowels in his Hands, and informed them of all that had passed. Upon this, the Greeks were amazed, and expecting they would immediately come and attack their Camp, ran to their Arms. But they did not all come; only Ariæus with Arteazus and Mithridates came, Persons who had shewn the greatest Fidelity to Cyrus. However, the Interpreter of the Greeks said, he saw the Brother to Tissaphernes with them, and knew him. They were followed by three hundred other Persians clad in Armour; who, when they drew near, ordered, if any Generals or Captains of the Greeks were present, they should advance, to the end, they might acquaint them with the King's Pleasure. Upon this, the Generals, Cleanor, an Orchomenian, and Sophænetus, a Stymphalian, went out of the Camp with great Caution; and with them Xenophon, an Athenian, that he might learn what was become of Proxenus. (Cheirisophus happened to be absent, being employed, with others, in getting Provisions in some Village.) When they came within hearing, Ariæus said, "Clearchus, O Greeks! having been found guilty of a Violation both of his Oath, and of the Articles of Peace, is justly punished with death; while Proxenus, and Menon, for having given Information of his Designs, are in great honour. Of you, the King demands your Arms, for he says they are his, as having belonged to Cyrus, who was his Subject."[1]

Hereupon, the Greeks made answer, Cleanor the Orchomenian, speaking in the Name of the rest: "O Ariæus! thou most wicked of all Men, and the rest of you, who were Friends to Cyrus! have you no regard either to the Gods or Men?

[1]Literally his Slave; this, it seems, was the Style of the Persian Court, which not only treated their Subjects as Slaves, but had the Insolence to call them so.

You, who after you have sworn to us to look upon our Friends and Enemies as your own, now conspire with Tissaphernes, the most impious and deceitful of all Men, to betray us; and having both destroyed those Persons, to whom you gave your Oaths, and deceived the rest of us, now come with our Enemies to invade us?" To this Ariæus answered, "But it first appeared that Clearchus was forming Designs against Tissaphernes, Orontas, and all the rest of us." Upon this, Xenophon replied, "If Clearchus, contrary to his Oath, has been guilty of a Violation of the Peace, he is justly punished; for it is just, that those who are guilty of Perjury, should be put to death. However, send Proxenus and Menon to us, since they are both your Benefactors, and our Commanders: For it is evident, that, being Friends to both of us, they will endeavour to advise that, which is best for both." To this the Barbarians made no answer, but, having conferred together for a considerable time, they departed.——

The Generals being thus apprehended, were carried to the King, by whose Orders their Heads were cut off. One of them, Clearchus, was allowed by all that knew him to have been a Man both of a military Genius, and one who delighted in War to the last degree. For, as long as the Lacedæmonians were at war with the Athenians, he continued in the Service of his Country; but, after the Peace, he persuaded his Fellow-Citizens, that the Thracians oppressed the Greeks, and having prevailed on the Ephori, by some means or other, he set sail with a design to make war upon the Thracians, who inhabit above the Chersonesus and Perinthus. After his Departure the Ephori, for some reasons, changed their Minds, and recalled him from the Isthmus; but he refused to obey them, and sailed away for the Hellespont; whereupon, he was condemned to die by the Magistrates of Sparta, as guilty of Disobedience. Being now a banished Man, he comes to Cyrus, and by what means he gained his Confidence, has been mentioned in another place: Cyrus gave him ten thousand Daricks. Having received this Money, he did not give himself up to Indolence, but, raising an Army with it, made war upon the Thracians; and, overcoming them in Battle, plundered their

Country, and continued the War, 'till Cyrus had occasion for his Army, when he departed with a design of attending him in his Expedition.——

These therefore seem to be the Actions of a Man delighting in War, who, when it is in his power to live in Peace without Detriment or Dishonour, prefers War; when to live in Ease, chuses Labour, with a View to War; and when to enjoy Riches without danger, chuses rather, by making War, to diminish them: so that he spent his Money in War, as chearfully as if it had been in Gallantry, or any other Pleasure: so much he delighted in it. His Genius for War appeared by his Forwardness to expose himself, and to attack the Enemy either by Night or Day, and by his Conduct in danger; as those who attended him upon all occasions, universally acknowledged. He was said to have possessed the Art of commanding, as far as could be expected from a Man of his Temper: for, being as capable, as any other, of taking care his Army was supplied with Provisions, and of providing them, he was not less so of inspiring those, who were present, with a Dread of disobeying Clearchus. This he effected by Severity; for his Look was stern, and his Voice harsh: He always punished with Rigour, and frequently in Passion; so that he sometimes repented it. But he also inflicted Punishments with Deliberation, looking upon an Army without Discipline to be of no service. He is reported to have said, that a Soldier ought to fear his Commander more than the Enemy, if it is expected that he should do his Duty upon Guard, abstain from what belongs to a Friend, or attack the Enemy without Reluctance. In Dangers the Men obeyed him absolutely, nor ever desired to be commanded by any other; for they said his Sternness seemed then changed to Chearfulness, and his Severity to Resolution; so that they looked upon it no longer as Severity, but as their Preservation. However, when the Danger was over, and they had an opportunity of serving under other Commanders, many of them left him; for he was not in the least gracious but always rough and cruel: so that the Soldiers were in the same Disposition to him, as Scholars to their Master; none ever following him out of Friendship or Good-will. Those, who were

appointed by his Country, or compelled through Want, or any other Necessity to serve under him, were perfectly obedient to him. And, when they began to conquer under his Command, many things concurred to make them good Soldiers; for their Confidence in their own Strength, joined to their Fear of him, made them observant. This was his Character as a Commander; but it was said that he was unwilling to be commanded by others. When he died, he was about fifty Year of Age.——

Proxenus, the Bœotian, even from a Child, was desirous of becoming equal to great Employments; and, to satisfy this desire, gave a Sum of Money to Gorgias the Leontine.[1] After he had been some time with him, thinking himself now both able to command, and, if he entered into the friendship of great Men, to return all Obligations, he engaged in this Enterprize with Cyrus, whence he promised to himself great Reputation, great Power, and great Riches: Though he was earnest in the pursuit of these, yet on the other side his Conduct plainly shewed that he did not desire to gain any of them through Injustice; but that he ought to attain them with Jusice and Honour, and not otherwise. He was very capable of commanding an orderly and a well-disciplined Army; but incapable of inspiring Respect or Fear, and stood in greater Awe of his

[1]This Gorgias was a celebrated Master of Eloquence. He so far surpassed all the rest of his Profession, that Diodorus Siculus tells us he received no less from his Scholars than one hundred Minæ, that is, l. 322 : 18 : 4 Sterling. [$1600.] This Gorgias, it seems, was at the head of the Embassy which the Leontines sent to Athens, the second Year of the 88th Olympiad, to desire their Assistance against the Syracusans. In the first Audience he had of the Athenians his Eloquence or rather the Novelty of it so inchanted that People, who were great Admirers of both, that they were unfortunately prevailed upon to engage in the Sicilian War, the Event of which gave them so fatal a Blow, they could never recover it. Diodorus Siculus says also, that he was the Inventor of the Art of Rhetoric, and the first who made use of studied Figures and laboured Antitheses of equal Length, and the same Termination; this manner of speaking, the same Author says, pleased at first from its Novelty, but was afterwards looked upon as affected, and, if frequently practised, ridiculous.

Men, than they of him; it being visible, that he was more afraid of disobliging them, than they of disobeying him. It was his opinion, that all which was required to be, and seem to be equal to the Command, was to praise worthy Men, and not to praise the unworthy; for which reason he was beloved by Men of Worth and Honour, while ill Men were for ever forming Designs against him, as against a Man easy to be circumvented. He was about thirty Years old, when he died.——

Menon the Thessalian, did not either conceal his immoderate Desire of Riches; or his Desire of commanding, in order to increase them; or of being esteemed for the same reason. He desired to be well with those in Power, that his Injustice might escape Punishment. He thought the shortest ways to accomplish his Designs were Perjury, Falsehood, and Deceit; and that Simplicity and Truth were Weaknesses. He was observed to have no Affection for any Man, and, where he professed a Friendship, it was visible he designed to betray. He never spoke with Contempt of an Enemy, but was ever turning all those he conversed with into ridicule. He never formed any Design against the Possessions of an Enemy, (for he thought it difficult to rob those who were upon their guard) but looked upon himself as the only Person that was sensible how very easy it is to seize the unguarded Possessions of a Friend. He stood in fear of those whom he observed to be guilty of Perjury and Injustice, as of Men well armed; but practised upon Persons of Piety and Truth, as upon those, who are defenceless. And, as others value themselves upon Religion, Veracity, and Justice, so Menon valued himself upon being able to deceive, to invent Falshoods and abuse his Friends; and looked upon those as ignorant, who were without Guile. When he endeavoured to gain the first place in any Man's Friendship, he thought the most effectual way of recommending himself, was by slandering those who were in possession of it. He sought to make himself obeyed by the Soldiers, by becoming an Accomplice in their Crimes, and aimed at being esteemed and courted, by shewing that he had both the Power and the Will to commit great Injustice. If any one forsook him, he spoke of it as a favour, that while he made

use of his Service, he did not destroy him. Whatever is not publicly known in this Man's Character, may seem to be feigned, but the following Particulars all the World is acquainted with. While he was in the Flower of his Youth he obtained the Command of the Mercenaries in the Service of Aristippus. At that Age also he was in great favour with Ariæus, a Barbarian, because he delighted in beautiful Youths; and before he himself had a Beard, he had a bearded Favourite, called Tharypas. When the rest of the Generals suffered for having made war against the King with Cyrus, he though equally guilty, did not lose his Life; but was afterwards punished with death by the King, not like Clearchus, and the rest of the Generals, by losing his Head, which was looked upon as the most honourable Death; but, as it is said, after he had been tortured, a whole Year, like a Malefactor.——

Agias, the Arcadian, and Socrates, the Achaian, were both put to death at the same time; these were without Reproach both in War, and Friendship. They were then about forty Years of Age.

BOOK III

In the foregoing Discourse, we have related the Actions of the Greeks during the Expedition of Cyrus to the Battle, and what happened after his Death, when the Greeks marched away with Tissaphernes upon the Peace. After the Generals were apprehended, and the Captains and Soldiers who accompanied them, put to death, the Greeks were in great distress; knowing they were not far from the King's Palace, surrounded on all sides with many Nations and many Cities, all their Enemies; that no one would any longer supply them with Provisions; that they were distant from Greece above ten thousand Stadia, without a Guide to conduct them, and their Road thither intercepted by impassable Rivers; that even those Barbarians, who had served under Cyrus, had betrayed them, and that they were now left alone without any Horse to assist them. By which it was evident, that if they overcame the Enemy, they could not destroy a Man of them in the

Pursuit, and if they themselves were overcome, not one of them could escape. These Reflections so disheartened them, that few eat any thing that Evening, few made Fires, and many that Night never came to their Quarter, but laid themselves down, every Man in the place where he happened to be, unable to sleep through Sorrow, and a Longing for their Country, their Parents, their Wives and Children, whom they never expected to see again: In this Disposition of Mind, they all lay down to rest.

There was in the Army, an Athenian, by Name, Xenophon, who, without being a General, a Captain, or a Soldier, served as a Volunteer: for, having been long attached to Proxenus by the Rights of Hospitality, the latter sent for him from home, with a promise, if he came, to recommend him to Cyrus; from whom, he said, he expected greater Advantages, than from his own Country. Xenophon having read the Letter, consulted Socrates the Athenian concerning the Voyage, who fearing lest his Country might look upon his Attachment to Cyrus as criminal, because that Prince was thought to have espoused the Interest of the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians with great Warmth, advised Xenophon to go to Delphos, and consult the God of the Place concerning the Matter. Xenophon went thither accordingly and asked Apollo, to which of the Gods he should offer Sacrifice, and address his Prayers, to the end that he might perform the Voyage he proposed in the best and most reputable manner, and, after a happy Issue of it, return with safety. Apollo answered, that he should sacrifice to the proper Gods. At his Return, he acquainted Socrates with this Answer; who blamed him, because he had not asked Apollo in the first place, whether it were better for him to undertake this Voyage, than to stay at home: but, having himself first determined to undertake it, he had consulted him concerning the most proper means of performing it with success: but, since says he, you have asked this, you ought to do what the God has commanded. Xenophon therefore, having offered Sacrifice to the Gods according to the Direction of the Oracle, set sail, and found Proxenus and Cyrus at Sardes ready to march towards the Upper Asia. Here he was presented to

Cyrus, and Proxenus pressing him to stay, Cyrus was no less earnest in persuading him, and assured him, that, as soon as the Expedition was at an end, he would dismiss him; this he pretended was designed against the Pisidians.

Xenophon, therefore, thus imposed on, engaged in the Enterprize, though Proxenus had no share in the Imposition, for none of the Greeks, besides Clearchus, knew it was intended against the King: but, when they arrived in Cilicia, every one saw the Expedition was designed against him. Then, though they were terrified at the length of the way, and unwilling to go on, yet the greatest part of them, out of a regard both to one another, and to Cyrus, followed him: and Xenophon was of this number. When the Greeks were in this distress, he had his share in the general Sorrow, and was unable to rest. However, getting a little sleep, he dreamed he thought it thundered, and that a Flash of Lightning fell upon his paternal House, which upon that was all in a blaze. Immediately he awoke in a fright, and looked upon his Dream as happy in this respect, because, while he was engaged in Difficulties and Dangers, he saw a great light proceeding from Jupiter. On the other side, he was full of fear, when he considered that this Dream was sent by Jupiter the King, and that the Fire, by blazing all round him, might portend, that he should not be able to get out of the King's Territories, but should be surrounded on all sides with Difficulties.——

However the Events, which were consequent to this Dream, sufficiently explain the Nature of it; for presently these Things happened: As soon as he awoke, the first Thought that occurred to him was this, Why do I lie here? the Night wears away, and as soon as the Day appears, it is probable the Enemy will come and attack us; and if we fall under the Power of the King, what can preserve us from being Spectators of the most tragical Sights, from suffering the most cruel Torments, and from dying with the greatest Ignominy? Yet no one makes Preparation for Defence, or takes any Care about it: but here we lie, as if we were allowed to live in Quiet. From what City therefore do I expect a General to perform

these things? What Age do I wait for? But, if I abandon myself to the Enemy this Day, I shall never live to see another. Upon this, he rose, and first assembled the Captains who had served under Proxenus; and, when they were together, he said to them, "Gentlemen! I can neither sleep, (which, I suppose, is your case also) nor lie any longer, when I consider the Condition to which we are reduced. For it is plain the Enemy would not have declared War against us, had they not first made the necessary Preparations: while, on our side, none takes any care how we may resist them in the best manner possible. If we are remiss, and fall under the Power of the King, what have we to expect from him, who cut off the Head and Hand of his own Brother, even after he was dead, and fixed them upon a Stake? How then will he treat us, who have no support, and have made war against him, with a design to reduce him, from the Condition of a King, to that of a Subject, and, if it lay in our power, to put him to death? Will he not try the power of every Extremity, to the End, that, by torturing us in the most ignominious manner, he may deter all Men from ever making war against him? We ought therefore to do every thing rather than fall into his Hands. While the Peace lasted, I own, I never ceased to consider ourselves, as extremely miserable, and the King, with those who belonged to him, equally happy: When I cast my Eyes around, and beheld how spacious and beautiful a Country, they were Masters of, how they abounded in Provisions, Slaves, Cattle, Gold, and rich Apparel; and, on the other hand, reflected on the Situation of our Men, who had no share of all these Advantages, without paying for them, which I knew very few were any longer able to do, and that our Oaths forbad us to provide ourselves by any other means; when I reflected, I say, on these things, I was more afraid of Peace than now I am of War. But, since they have put an end to the Peace, there seems to be an end also both of their Insolence, and our Jealousy: And these Advantages lie now as a Prize between us, to be given to the bravest: In this Combat the Gods are the Umpires, who will, with Justice, declare in our favour; for our Enemies have provoked them by Perjury, while we, surrounded with every thing to tempt

us, have, with Constancy, abstained from all, that we might preserve our Oaths inviolate: So that, in my opinion, we have reason to engage in this Combat with greater Confidence than they. Besides, our Bodies are more patient of Cold, of Heat, and of Labour than theirs; and our Minds, with the divine Assistance, more resolved: And if, as before, the Gods vouchsafe to grant us the Victory, their Men will be more obnoxious to Wounds and Death. But possibly others may also entertain these Thoughts: For Heaven's sake then, let us not stay 'till those who do come and encourage us to glorious Actions, but let us prevent them, and excite even them to Virtue. Shew yourselves the bravest of all the Captains, and the most worthy to command of all the Generals. As for me, if you desire to lead the way in this, I will follow you with Chearfulness; and if you appoint me to be your Leader, I shall not excuse myself by reason of my Age, but think myself even in the Vigour of it to repel an Injury.——

The Captains, hearing this, all desired he would take upon him the Command, except a certain Person, by Name Appollonides, who affected to speak in the Bœotian Dialect. This Man said, that, whoever proposed any other means of returning to Greece, than by endeavouring to persuade the King to consent to it, talked impertinently; and, at the same time, began to recount the Difficulties they were engaged in. But Xenophon interrupting him, said, "Thou most admirable Man! who art both insensible of what you see, and forgetful of what you hear. You were present, when the King, after the Death of Cyrus, exulting in his Victory, sent to us to deliver up our Arms, and when, instead of delivering them up, we marched out ready to give him Battle, and encamped near him, what did he leave undone by sending Embassadors, begging Peace, and supplying us with Provisions, 'till he had obtained it? And afterwards, when our Generals and Captains went to confer with them, as you advise us to do, without their Arms, relying on the Peace, what has been their Treatment? Are not these unfortunate Men daily scourged, tortured, and insulted, and forbid even to die, though, I dare say, they earnestly desire it? When you know all this, can you say that

those, who exhort us to defend ourselves, talk impertinently, and dare you advise us to sue again to the King for favour? For my part, Gentlemen! I think we ought not to admit this Man any longer into our Company, but use him as he deserves, by removing him from his Command, and employing him in carrying our Baggage: for, by being a Greek with such a Mind, he is a Shame to his Country, and dishonours all Greece."

Then Agasias of Stymphalus said, "This Man has no relation to Bœotia, or to any other Part of Greece; for to my knowledge, both his Ears are bored, like a Lydian. Which was found to be true: so they expelled him their Company. The rest went to all the Quarters of the Army, and where any Generals were left, they called them up; where they were wanting, their Lieutenants; and where there were any Captains left, they called up them. When they were all assembled, they placed themselves before the Quarter, where the heavy-armed Men lay encamped; the Number of the Generals and Captains amounting to about a hundred. While this was doing, it was near Midnight. Then Hieronymus of Elis, the Oldest of all the Captains, who had served under Proxenus, began thus: "Gentlemen! we have thought proper, in the present Juncture both to assemble ourselves, and call you together, to the end we may, if possible, consider of something to our Advantage. Do you, O Xenophon! represent to them what you have laid before us." Upon this, Xenophon said:

"We are all sensible that the King, and Tissaphernes, have caused as many of us as they could to be apprehended, and it is plain they design, by the same treacherous means, if they can, to destroy the rest. We ought, therefore, in my opinion, to attempt every thing, not only to prevent our falling under their Power, but, if possible, to subject them to ours. Know then, that, being assembled in so great Numbers, you have the fairest of all Opportunities; for all the Soldiers fix their Eyes on you: if they see you disheartened, their Courage will forsake them; but, if you appear resolute

yourselves, and exhort them to do their Duty, be assured, they will follow you, and endeavour to imitate your Example. It seems also reasonable that you should excel them in some degree, for you are their Generals, their Leaders, and their Captains: and, as in time of Peace you have the Advantage of them both in Riches and Honours, so now in time of War, you ought to challenge the Pre-eminence in Courage, in Counsel, and, if necessary, in Labour. In the first place then, it is my Opinion, that you will do great service to the Army, if you take care that Generals and Captains are immediately chosen in the room of those who are slain: Since, without Chiefs, nothing either great or profitable can indeed be achieved upon any occasion, but least of all in War. For, as Discipline preserves Armies, so the want of it has already been fatal to many. After you have appointed as many Commanders, as are necessary, I should think it highly seasonable for you to assemble and encourage the rest of the Soldiers; for no doubt you must have observed, as well as I, how dejectedly they came to their Quarters, and how heavily they went upon Guard: So that, while they are in this Disposition, I don't know what Service can, either by Night or Day, be expected from them. They have at present nothing before their Eyes, but Sufferings, if any one could turn their Thoughts to Action, it would greatly encourage them. For you know, that, neither Numbers nor Strength give the Victory: but that side which, with the Assistance of the Gods, attacks with the greatest Resolution, is generally irresistable. I have taken notice also, that those Men who in War seek to preserve their Lives at any rate commonly die with Shame and Ignominy; while those who look upon Death as common to all, and unavoidable, and are only solicitous to die with honour, oftener arrive at old Age, and while they live, live happier. As therefore we are sensible of these things, it behoves us at this critical juncture, both to act with Courage ourselves, and to exhort the rest to do the same."

After him Cheirisophus said: "Before this time, O Xenophon! I knew no more of you than that you were an Athenian: but now I commend both your Words and Actions, and wish

we had many in the Army like you; for it would be a general good. And now, Gentlemen! let us lose no time: those of you, who want Commanders, depart immediately and chuse them; and when that is done, come into the middle of the Camp, and bring them with you: after that, we will call the rest of the Soldiers hither: and let Tolmides the Cryer, attend." Saying this, he rose up, that what was necessary, might be transacted without delay. After this Timasion a Dardanian was chosen General in the room of Clearchus, Xanthicles an Achaian in the room of Socrates, Cleanor an Orchomenian in the room of Agias an Arcadian, Philysius an Achaian in the room of Menon, and Xenophon an Athenian in that of Proxenus.——

As soon as the Election was over, it being now near break of Day, the Officers advanced to the middle of the Camp, and resolved first to appoint Out-guards, and then to call the Soldiers together. When they were all assembled, Cheirisophus, the Lacedæmonian first got up, and spoke as follows: "Soldiers! we are at present under great Difficulties, being deprived of such Generals, Captains, and Soldiers: Besides, the Forces of Ariæus, who were before our Auxiliaries, have betrayed us. However, we ought to emerge out of our present Circumstances, like brave Men, and not be cast down, but endeavour to redeem ourselves by a glorious Victory. If that is impossible, let us die with honour, and never fall alive under the power of the Enemy: for, in that case, we should suffer such things, as I hope the Gods keep in store for them."

After him Cleanor of Orchomenus rose up and said. "You see, O Soldiers! the Perjury and Impiety of the King, as well as the Perfidy of Tissaphernes, who amused us by saying that he lived in the Neighbourhood of Greece, and should, of all things, be most desirous to carry us in safety thither: It was He that gave us his Oath to perform this; He that pledged his Faith; He that betrayed us, and caused our Generals to be apprehended: And this he did in defiance even of Jupiter the Avenger of violated Hospitality; for, having entertained Clearchus at his Table, by these Arts he first deceived, and then destroyed our Generals. Ariæus also, whom we offered

to place upon the Throne, with whom we were engaged by a mutual Exchange of Faith not to betray one another; this Man, I say, without either Fear of the Gods, or Respect for the Memory of Cyrus, though, of all others the most esteemed by him when alive, now revolts to his greatest Enemies, and endeavours to distress us, who were his Friends. But of these may the Gods take Vengeance! It behoves us, who have these things before our Eyes, not only to take care that these Men do not again betray us, but also to fight with all possible Bravery, and submit to what the Gods shall determine."——

Then Xenophon rose up, dressed for the War in the most gorgeous Armour he could provide, for he thought, if the Gods granted him Victory, these Ornaments would become a Conqueror, and if he were to die, they would decorate his Fall. He began in the following manner: "Cleanor has laid before you the Perjury and Treachery of the Barbarians: which, to be sure, you yourselves are no Strangers to. If therefore we have any Thoughts of trying their Friendship again, we must be under great Concern, when we consider what our Generals have suffered, who by trusting to their Faith, put themselves in their power. But, if we propose to take Revenge of them with our Swords for what they have done, and persecute them for the future with War in every shape; we have, with the Assistance of the Gods, many fair Prospects of Safety." While he was speaking, one of the Company sneezed, upon this the Soldiers all at once adored the God. Then Xenophon said, "Since, O Soldiers! while we were speaking of Safety, Jupiter the Preserver, sent us an Omen, I think we ought to make a Vow to offer Sacrifice to this God, in Thanksgiving for our Preservation, in that Place where we first reach the Territories of our Friends; and also to the rest of the Gods, in the best manner we are able. Whoever, then is of this Opinion, let him hold up his Hand." And they all held up their Hands; then made their Vows, and sung the Pæan. After they had performed their Duty to the Gods, he went on thus:

"I was saying that we had many fair Prospects of Safety. In the first place we have observed the Oaths, to which we

called the Gods to witness, while our Enemies have been guilty of Perjury, and have violated both their Oaths and the Peace. This being so, we have reason to expect the Gods will declare against them, and combat on our side; and They have it in their power, when they think fit, soon to humble the High, and, with ease, to exalt the Low, though in distress. Upon this occasion, I shall put you in mind of the Dangers our Ancestors were involved in, in order to convince you that it behoves you to be brave, and that those who are so, are preserved by the Gods amidst the greatest Calamities: for, when the Persians, and their Allies, came with a vast Army to destroy Athens, the Athenians, by daring to oppose them, overcame them; and having made a Vow to Diana to sacrifice as many Goats to her as they killed of the Enemy, when they could not find enough, they resolved to sacrifice five hundred every Year; and even to this Day they offer Sacrifice in Thanksgiving for that Victory. Afterwards when Xerxes invaded Greece, with an innumerable Army, then it was that our Ancestors overcame the Ancestors of these very Men, both by Sea and Land; of which the Trophies, that were erected upon that occasion, are lasting Monuments still to be seen. But of all Monuments the most considerable is the Liberty of those Cities, in which you have received your Birth and Education: for you pay Adoration to no other Master but the Gods. From such Ancestors are you descended: neither can I say that you are a dishonour to them, since, within these few Days, you engaged the Descendants of those Men, many times superior to you in number, and, with the Assistance of the Gods, defeated them. Then you fought to place Cyrus on the Throne, and in his Cause fought bravely: Now your own Safety is at stake, you ought certainly to shew more Courage and Alacrity. You have also reason now to entertain a greater Confidence in your own Strength than before; for though you were then unacquainted with the Enemy, and saw them before you in vast numbers, however you dared to attack them with the Spirit of your Ancestors: whereas now you have had Experience of them, and are sensible that, though they exceed you many times in number, they dare not stand before you, why should you any longer fear them?

Neither ought you to look upon it as a Disadvantage, that the Barbarians belonging to Cyrus, who, before fought on your side, have now forsaken you; for they are yet worse Soldiers than those we have already overcome. They have left us therefore, and are fled to them: and it is our Advantage that those who are the first to fly, should be found in the Enemy's Army rather than in our own. If any of you are disheartened because we have no Horse, in which the Enemy abound, let them consider that ten thousand Horse are no more than ten thousand Men; for no one was ever killed in an Action by the Bite or Kick of a Horse. The Men do every thing that is done in Battle. But further, we are steadier upon the Ground than they on Horseback; for they, hanging upon their Horses are not only afraid of us, but also of falling; while we standing firmly upon the Ground, strike those who approach us, with greater Force, and a surer Aim. The Horse have but one Advantage over us, they can fly with greater Security. But if you are confident of your Strength in Battle, yet look upon it as a Grievance that Tissaphernes will no longer conduct us, or the King supply us with a Market; consider which is the most advantageous to have Tissaphernes for our Conductor, who, 'tis plain has betrayed us, or such Guides as we shall make choice of, who will be sensible that, if they mislead us, they must answer it with their Lives. Consider also whether it is better for us to purchase, in the Markets they provide, small Measures for great Sums of Money, which we are no longer able to furnish, or, if we conquer, to make use of no other Measure but our Will. If you are convinced that these things are best in the way they are in, but think the Rivers are not to be repassed, and that you have been greatly deluded in passing them, consider with yourselves, whether the Barbarians have not taken very wrong Measures even in this; for all Rivers, though at a distance from their Springs, they may be impassable, yet if you go to their Sources, you will find them so easily fordable, as not even to wet your Knees. But, if the Rivers refuse us Passage, and no Guide appears to conduct us, even in that case we ought not to be disheartened; for we know that the Mysians, who are certainly not braver Men than ourselves, inhabit

many large and rich Cities in the King's Territories against his Will. The Pisidians, we also know, do the same. We have ourselves seen the Lycaonians, who, after they had made themselves Masters of the strong Places that command the Plains, enjoy the Product of the Country. And I should think we ought not yet to betray a desire of returning home; but prepare every thing as if we proposed to settle here: for I am well assured that the King would grant many Guides to the Mysians, and give them many Hostages, as a Security, to conduct them out of his Territories without fraud; he would even level the Roads for them, if they insisted upon being sent away in Chariots. And I am convinced he would, with great Alacrity, do the same for us, if he saw us disposed to stay here: But I am afraid, if once we learn to live in Idleness, and Plenty, and converse with the fair and stately Wives and Daughters of the Medes and Persians, we shall, like the Lotophagi,[1] forget to return home. It seems therefore to me both just and reasonable that we first endeavour to return to Greece, and to our Families, and let our Countrymen see that they live in voluntary Poverty, since it is in their power to bring their Poor hither, and enrich them; for all these Advantages, Gentlemen! are the Rewards of Victory. The next thing, I shall mention to you, is in what manner we may march with the greatest Security, and, if necessary, fight with the greatest Advantage. In the first place, continued he, I think we ought to burn all the Carriages, that the Care of them may not influence our march, but that we may be directed in it by the Advantage of the Army. After that, we ought to burn our Tents also; for they are troublesome to carry, and of no use either in fighting, or in supplying ourselves with Provisions. Let us also rid ourselves of all superfluous Baggage, and reserve only those things, that are of use in War, or for our Meat and Drink; to the end as many of us, as possible, may march in their Ranks, and as few be employed in carrying the Baggage; for the Conquered, you know, have nothing they can call their own; and, if we con-

[1]This Tradition seems derived from Homer, who says that those who eat of the Lotus never think of returning home.

quer, we ought to look upon the Enemy as Servants to be employed in carrying our Baggage. It now remains that I speak to that which is, in my opinion, of the greatest Consequence. You see that even the Enemy did not dare to declare War against us, 'till they had seized our Generals, for they were sensible, that, while we had Commanders, and yielded Obedience to them, we were able to conquer them; but, having seized our Commanders, they concluded that we should from a want of Command and Discipline, be destroyed. It is necessary therefore that our present Generals should be more careful than the former, and the Soldiers more observant, and more obedient to Them than to their Predecessors; and, if you make an Order, that whoever of you happens to be present, shall assist the Commander in chastising those who are guilty of Disobedience, it will be the most effectual means to frustrate the Designs of the Enemy; for, from this Day, instead of one Clearchus, they will find a thousand, who will suffer no Man to neglect his Duty. But it is now Time to make an End, for it is probable the Enemy will presently appear; and, if you approve of any thing I have said, ratify it immediately, that you may put it in Execution. But, if any other Person thinks of any thing more proper, though a private Man, let him propose it; for our Preservation is a general Concern."——

After that, Cheirisophus said, "If it is necessary to add any thing to what Xenophon has laid before us, it may be done by and by: At present I think we ought to ratify what he has proposed, and whoever is of that opinion, let him hold up his Hand:" and they all held up their Hands. Then Xenophon, rising up again, said, "Hear then, O Soldiers! what, in my opinion, we are to expect. It is evident that we must go to some place where we may get Provisions. I am informed there are many fair Villages not above twenty Stadia from hence: I should not therefore be surprized if the Enemy, like cowardly Dogs that follow, and, if they can, bite those who pass by, but fly from those who pursue them, should also follow us when we begin to move. Possibly therefore we shall march with greater Safety, if we dispose the heavy-

armed Men in an hollow square, to the end the Baggage, and the great number of those who belong to it, may be in greater Security. If then we now appoint the proper Persons to command the Front, each of the Flanks, and the Rear, we shall not have to consider of this, when the Enemy appears; but shall presently be ready to execute what we have resolved. If any other Person has any thing better to propose, let it be otherwise: If not, let Cheirisophus command the Front, since he is a Lacedæmonian; let two of the oldest Generals command the Flanks; and Timasion and Myself, who are the youngest, will, for the present take charge of the Rear. Afterwards, when we have had Experience of this Disposition, we may consider what is best to be done, as occasion offers. If any one thinks of any thing better, let him mention it." But no body opposing what he offered, he said, "Let those who are of this Opinion, hold up their Hands:" so this was resolved. "Now, says he, you are to depart, and execute what is determined: And whoever among you desires to return to his Family, let him remember to fight bravely, (for this is the only means to effect it): Whoever has a mind to live, let him endeavour to conquer; for the part of the Conqueror is to inflict Death, that of the Conquered to receive it. And if any among you covet Riches, let him endeavour to overcome: for the Victorious not only preserve their own Possessions, but acquire those of the Enemy."

After he had said this, they all rose up, and departing, burnt their Carriages, and Tents; as for the superfluous part of their Baggage, they gave that to one another where it was wanted, and cast the rest into the Fire, and then went to Dinner. While they were at Dinner, Mithridates advanced with about thirty Horse, and, desiring the Generals might come within hearing, he said, "O Greeks! I was faithful to Cyrus, as you yourselves know, and now wish well to you; and do assure you that while I remain here, I am under great Apprehensions. So that if I saw you taking salutary Resolutions, I would come over to you and bring all my People with me. Inform me therefore of what you resolve, for I am your Friend and Wellwisher, and desire to join you

in your march." After the Generals had consulted together, they thought proper to return this Answer, Cheirisophus speaking in the Name of the rest. "We resolve, says he, if we are suffered to return home, to march through the Country with as little damage to it as possible; but, if any one opposes our march, to fight our way through in the best manner we are able." Mithridates upon this endeavoured to shew how impossible it was for them to return in safety, without the King's Consent. This rendered him suspected, besides, one belonging to Tissaphernes was in his Company, as a Spy upon him. From this time forward the Generals determined, that they would admit of no further Treaty while they continued in the Enemy's Country: for, by coming in this manner, they not only debauched the Soldiers, but Nicharchus, an Arcadian, one of the Captains, who deserted to them that Night, with about twenty Men.

As soon as the Soldiers had dined, the Army passed the River Zabatus, and marched in Order of Battle, with the Baggage, and those who attended it, in the middle: They had not gone far, before Mithridates, appeared again with about two hundred Horse, and four hundred Archers and Slingers very light, and fit for Expedition. He advanced as a Friend; but, when he came near, immediately both the Horse and Foot discharged their Arrows; the Slingers also made use of their Slings, and wounded some of our Men, so that the Rear of the Greeks received great Damage, without being able to return it: For the Bows of the Cretans did not carry so far as those of the Persians: The former also, being lightly armed, had sheltered themselves in the middle of the heavy-armed Men, neither could our Darters reach their Slingers. Xenophon seeing this, resolved to pursue the Enemy, and the heavy-armed Men and Targeteers, who were with him in the Rear, followed the Pursuit. But they could come up with none of them; for the Greeks had no Horse, and their Foot could not in so short a Space overtake those of the Enemy, who had so much the Start of them. Neither durst they in the Pursuit separate themselves too far from the rest of the Army; for the Barbarian Horse wounded them even as they

fled, shooting backward from their Horses: And, as far as the Greeks were advanced in the Pursuit, so far were they obliged to retreat fighting. Insomuch that they could not march above five and twenty Stadia all that Day; however, in the Evening, they arrived in the Villages. Here the Troops were again disheartened; and Cheirisophus with the oldest Generals blamed Xenophon for leaving the main Body to pursue the Enemy, and exposing himself without any possibility of hurting them.

Xenophon hearing this, said they had reason to blame him, and that they were justified by the Event. "But, says he, I was under a Necessity of pursuing the Enemy, since I saw our Men suffer great Damage by standing still, without being able to return it: but when we were engaged in the Pursuit, continued he, we found what you say to be true: For we were not more able to annoy the Enemy than before, and retreated with great Difficulty. We have reason therefore to thank the Gods that they came upon us only with a small Force and a few Troops, so that, instead of doing us great Damage, they have taught us our Wants. For now the Enemy's Archers and Slingers wound our Men at a greater distance, than either the Cretans, or the Darters can reach them; and when we pursue them, we must not separate ourselves far from the main Body; and in a short Space our Foot, though ever so swift, cannot come up with theirs, so as to reach them with their Arrows. If we mean therefore to hinder them from disturbing us in our March, we must immediately provide ourselves with Slingers and Horse. I hear there are Rhodians in our Army, the greatest part of whom, they say, understand the Use of the Sling; and that their Slings carry twice as far as those of the Persians, who throwing large Stones, cannot offend their Enemy at a great Distance: whereas the Rhodians, besides Stones, make use of leaden Balls. If therefore we enquire who have Slings, and pay them for them; and also give Money to those who are willing to make others, granting at the same time some other Immunity to those, who voluntarily list among the Slingers, possibly some will offer themselves, who may be fit for that

Service. I see also Horses in the Army, some belonging to me, and some left by Clearchus; besides many others that we have taken from the Enemy, which are employed in carrying the Baggage. If therefore we chuse out all the best of these, and accoutre them for the Horse, giving to the Owners sumpter Horses in Exchange, possibly these also may annoy the Enemy in their Flight." These things were resolved upon: and the same Night two hundred Slingers listed themselves. The next Day proper Horses and Horsemen were appointed to the number of fifty, and buff Coats and Corslets were provided for them; and the Command of them was given to Lycius the Son of Polystratus, an Athenian.

That Day the Army staid in the same Place: and the next they began their March earlier than usual; for they had a Valley formed by a Torrent to pass, and were afraid the Enemy should attack them in their Passage. As soon as they had passed it, Mithridates appeared again with a thousand Horse and four thousand Archers and Slingers; for so many Tissaphernes had granted him, at his Desire, and upon his undertaking with that Number to deliver the Greeks into his Power: for having, in the last Action, with a small Force, done them (as he imagined) great Damage, without receiving any, he had a Contempt for them. When the Greeks were advanced about eight Stadia beyond the Valley, Mithridates also passed it with the Forces under his Command. The Greek Generals had given Orders to a certain Number both of the Targeteers and heavy-armed Men to follow the Chace, and also to the Horse to pursue them boldly, with Assurance that a sufficient Force should follow to sustain them. When therefore Mithridates overtook them, and was now within Reach of their Slings and Arrows, the Trumpet sounded, and those of the Greeks, who had Orders, immediately attacked the Enemy, the Horse charging at the same time. However, the Persians did not stand to receive them, but fled to the Valley. In this Pursuit, the Barbarians lost many of their Foot, and about eighteen of their Horse were taken Prisoners in the Valley. The Greeks, of their own accord, mangled the bodies of the slain, to create the greater Horror in the Enemy.

After this Defeat, the Persians retired, and the Greeks, marching the rest of the Day without Disturbance, came to the River Tigris, where stood a large uninhabited City, called Larissa,[1] anciently inhabited by the Medes, the Walls of which were twenty-five Feet in Breadth, one hundred in Height, and two Parasangas in Circuit; all built with Bricks, except the Plinth which was of Stone, and twenty Feet high. This City when besieged by the King of Persia, at the Time the Persians were wresting the Empire from the Medes, he could not make himself Master of it by any means; when it happened that the Sun, obscured by a Cloud, disappeared, and the Darkness continued 'till, the Inhabitants being seized with Consternation, the Town was taken. Close to the City stood a Pyramid of Stone one hundred Feet square, and two hundred high, in which a great number of Barbarians, who fled from the neighbouring Villages, had conveyed themselves.

Thence they made, in one day's march, six Parasangas, to a large uninhabited Castle, standing near a Town, called Mespila, formerly inhabited also by the Medes. The Plinth of the Wall was built with polished Stone full of Shells, being fifty Feet in Breadth, and as many in Height. Upon this stood a brick Wall fifty Feet also in Breadth, one hundred in Height; and six Parasangas in Circuit. Here Media the King's Consort, is said to have taken Refuge, when the Medes

[1]It is very judiciously remarked by the great Bochart, that it is improbable there should be any such Name of a Town in this Part of the World as Larissa, because it is a Greek Name; and though there were several Cities so called, they were all Greek: And as no Greeks settled in these Parts, 'till the Time of Alexander's Conquests, which did not happen 'till many Years after Xenophon's Death, so he concludes they could meet with no such Name so far from Greece as beyond the River Tigris. He therefore conjectures, that this City is the Resen, mentioned by Moses, Gen. x. 12. where he says, Ashur built Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great City. This agrees exactly with what Xenophon says of it. Bochart therefore supposes, that when the Greeks asked the People of the Country, what City are these the Ruins of? They answered "Laresen," that is, "of Resen." It is easy to imagine how this Word might be softened by a Greek Termination, and made Larissa.

were deprived of the Empire by the Persians. When the Persian King besieged this City, he could not make himself Master of it either by Length of Time or by Force, but Jupiter having struck the inhabitants with a panick Fear, it was taken.

From this place they made, in one day's march, four Parasangas. During their march Tissaphernes appeared with his own Horse, and the Forces of Orontas, who had married the King's Daughter, together with those Barbarians, who had served under Cyrus in his Expedition; to these was added the Army which the King's Brother had brought to his Assistance, and the Troops the King had given him. All these together made a vast Army. When he approached he placed some of his Forces against our Rear, and others against each of our Flanks, but durst not attack us, being unwilling to hazard a Battle: however, he ordered his Men to use their Slings and Bows. But, when the Rhodians, who were disposed in Platoons, began to make use of their Slings, and the Cretan Bowmen, in Imitation of the Scythians, discharged their Arrows, none of them missing the Enemy, (which they could not easily have done, though they had endeavoured it) both Tissaphernes himself quickly got out of their reach, and the other Divisions retired. The remaining part of the Day the Greeks continued their March, and the others followed, without harassing them any more with Skirmishes; for the Slings of the Rhodians not only carried further than those of the Persians, but even than most of the Archers could throw their Arrows. The Persian Bows are long, so that their Arrows, when gathered up, were of service to the Cretans, who continued to make use of them, and accustomed themselves to take a great Elevation, in order to shoot them to a greater distance. Besides, there were found a considerable Quantity of Bow-strings in the Villages, and some Lead, both which were employed for the Slings.

visions: for there was Plenty of Corn in the Villages. The This Day, after the Greeks were encamped in the Villages, the Barbarians, having suffered in the Skirmish, retired: the next the Greeks staid where they were, and made their Pro-

Day after they marched over the open Country, and Tissaphernes followed, harassing them at a Distance. Upon this occasion the Greeks observed that an equilateral Square was not a proper Disposition for an Army, when pursued by the Enemy; for, whenever the Square has a narrow Road, a Defile between Hills, or a Bridge to pass, the Wings must close, and consequently the heavy-armed Men be forced out of their Ranks, and march uneasily, being both pressed together and disordered; so that of necessity they become useless for want of Order. On the other Side, when the Wings come to be again extended, the Men who before were forced out of their Ranks, must divide, and consequently leave an Opening in the Center; which very much disheartens those who are thus exposed, when the Enemy is at their Heels. Besides, when they have a Bridge, or any other Defile to pass, every Man is in a Hurry, wanting to be first. Upon which occasion the Enemy has a fair Opportunity of attacking them. After the Generals had discovered this, they formed six Companies of one hundred Men each, whom they subdivided into others of fifty, and these again into others of twenty-five, and appointed Officers to all of them. The Captains of these Companies upon a March, when the Wings closed, staid behind, so as not to disorder the Rear; they at that Time marching clear of the Wings. And when the Sides of the Square came to be again extended, they then filled up the Center, if the Opening was narrow, with the Companies of one hundred Men each; if larger, with those of fifty; and if very large, with those of five and twenty; so that the Center was always full. If therefore the Army were to pass any Defile or Bridge, there was no confusion, the Captains of these several Companies bringing up the Rear; and, if a Detachment were wanted upon any Occasion, these were always at hand. In this Disposition they made four Marches.

While they were upon their March the fifth Day, they saw a Palace and many Villages lying round it. The Road, which led to this Place lay over high Hills, that reached down from the Mountain, under which there stood a Village. The Greeks were rejoiced to see these Hills, and with great Reason,

the Enemy's Forces consisting in Horse. But after they had left the Plain, and ascended the first Hill, while they were descending thence in order to climb the next, the Barbarians appeared, and from the Eminence showered down upon them, under the Scourge,[1] Darts, Stones, and Arrows. They wounded many, and had the Advantage over the Greek light-armed Men, forcing them to retire within the Body of the heavy-armed; so that the Slingers and Archers were that day entirely useless, being mixed with those who had Charge of the Baggage. And when the Greeks, being thus pressed, endeavoured to pursue the Enemy, as they were heavy-armed Men, they moved slowly to the Top of the Mountain, while the Enemy retreated: And when the Greeks retired to their main Body, the same thing happened to them again. They found the same Difficulty in passing the second Hill; so that they determined not to order out the heavy-armed Men from the third Hill; but, instead of that, brought up the Targeteers to the Top of the Mountain from the Right of the Square. When these were got above the Enemy, they no longer molested our Men in their Descent, fearing to be cut off from their own Body, and that we should attack them on both Sides. In this Manner we marched the rest of the Day, some in the Road upon the Hills, and others abreast of them upon the Mountain, 'till they came to the Villages; when they appointed eight Surgeons, for there were many wounded.

Here they staid three Days, both on account of the wounded, and because they found plenty of Provisions, as Wheat-Meal, Wine, and a great quantity of Barley for Horses; all which was laid up for the Satrape of the Country. The fourth Day they descended into the Plain; where, when Tissaphernes had overtaken them with the Army under his Command, he taught them how necessary it was to encamp in the first Village they came to, and to march no longer fighting; for some being wounded, some employed in carrying those who were so, and others in carrying the Arms of the latter, great numbers were not in a Condition to fight. But, when

[1]It was Part of the Persian Discipline to make their Soldiers do their Duty, as Xenophon says, under the Scourge.

they were encamped, and the Barbarians, coming up to the Village, offered to skirmish, the Greeks had greatly the Advantage of them; for they found a great difference between sallying from their Camp to repulse the Enemy, and being obliged to march fighting, whenever they were attacked. When the Evening approached, it was Time for the Barbarians to retire; because they never encamped at a less distance from the Greeks, than sixty Stadia, for Fear these should fall upon them in the Night. A Persian Army being then subject to great Inconveniences; for their Horses are tied, and generally shackled, to prevent them from running away; and, if an Alarm happens, a Persian has the Housing to fix, his Horse to bridle, and his Corslet to put on, before he can mount. All these Things cannot be done in the Night without great Difficulty, particularly, if there is an Alarm. For this Reason they always encamped at a Distance from the Greeks. When these perceived they designed to retire, and that the Word was given, they, in the Enemy's hearing, received Orders to make ready to march; whereupon, the Barbarians made a Halt; but, when it grew late, they departed; for they did not hold that it was expedient to march, and arrive at their Camp, in the Night.

When the Greeks plainly saw they were retired, they also decamped, and marching away, advanced about sixty Stadia. The two Armies were now at so great a Distance from one another, that the Enemy did not appear, either the next Day, or the Day after. But on the fourth, the Barbarians, having got before the Greeks in the Night, possessed themselves of an Eminence that commanded the Road, through which the Greeks were to pass. It was the Brow of a Hill, under which lay the descent into the Plain. As soon as Cheirisophus saw this Eminence possessed by the Enemy, he sent for Xenophon from the Rear, and desired him to bring up the Targeteers to the Front. Xenophon did not take these with him, (for he saw Tissaphernes advancing with his whole Army) but, riding up to him himself, said, Why do you send for me? Cheirisophus answered, you see the Enemy have possessed themselves of the Hill that commands the Descent, and unless we

dislodge them, it is not possible for us to pass: but, adds he, why did you not bring the Targeteers with you? Xenophon replied, because he did not think proper to leave the Rear naked, when the Enemy was in Sight: but, says he, it is high time to consider how we shall dislodge those Men. Here Xenophon observing the Top of the Mountain, that was above their own Army, found there was a Passage from that to the Hill, where the Enemy was posted. Upon this he said, "O Cheirisophus! I think, the best Thing we can do, is to gain the Top of this Mountain, as soon as possible; for, if we are once Masters of That, the Enemy cannot maintain themselves upon the Hill. Do you stay with the Army, if you think fit, I'll go up to the Hill, or, do you go, if you desire it, and I'll stay here." Cheirisophus answered, I give you your Choice: To this Xenophon replied, that, as he was the younger man, he chose to go; but desired he would send with him some Troops from the Front, since it would take a great Deal of Time to bring up a Detachment from the Rear. So Cheirisophus sent the Targeteers that were in the Front: Xenophon also took those that were in the Middle of the Square. Besides these, Cheirisophus ordered the three hundred chosen Men, who attended on himself in the Front of the Square, to follow him.

After that they marched with all possible Expedition. The Enemy, who were upon the Hill, the Moment they saw them climb the Mountain, advanced at the same time striving to get there before them. Upon this Occasion there was a vast Shout raised both by the Greek Army, and that of Tissaphernes each encouraging their own Men. And Xenophon, riding by the Side of his Troops, called out to them, "Soldiers! think you are this Minute contending to return to Greece, this Minute to see your Wives and Children: After this momentary Labour we shall go on without any further Opposition." To whom Soteridas the Sicyonian said, "We are not upon equal Terms, O, Xenophon! for you are on Horseback, while I am greatly fatigued with carrying my Shield." Xenophon hearing this, leaped from his Horse, and thrust him out of his Rank; then, taking his Shield, marched

on as fast as he could. He happened to have a Horseman's Corslet on at that Time, which was very troublesome. However, he called to those who were before to mend their Pace, and to those behind, who followed with great Difficulty, to come up. The rest of the Soldiers beat and abused Soteridas, and threw Stones at him, 'till they obliged him to take his Shield, and go on. Then Xenophon remounted, and led them on Horseback, as far as the Way would allow; and, when it became impassable for his Horse, he hastened forward on Foot. At last they gained the Top of the Mountain, and prevented the Enemy.

Hereupon, the Barbarians turned their Backs, and fled every one as he could; and the Greeks remained Masters of the Eminence. Tissaphernes and Ariæus with their Men, turning out of the Road, went another way; while Cheirisophus with his Forces came down into the Plain, and encamped in a Village abounding in every Thing. There were also many other Villages in this Plain, near the Tigris, full of all Sorts of Provisions. In the Evening the Enemy appeared on a sudden in the Plain, and cut off some of the Greeks, who were dispersed in plundering; for many Herds of Cattle were taken, as the People of the Country were endeavouring to make them pass the River. Here Tissaphernes and his Army attempted to set Fire to the Villages; whereby some of the Greeks were disheartened, from the Apprehension of wanting Provisions if he burned them. About this time Cheirisophus and his Men came back from relieving their Companions, and Xenophon being come down into the Plain, and riding through the Ranks, after the Greeks were returned, said, "You see, O Greeks! the Enemy already acknowledge the Country to be ours; for, when they made Peace with us, they stipulated that we should not burn the Country belonging to the King, and now they set Fire to it themselves; as if they looked upon it no longer as their own. But, wherever they leave any Provisions for themselves, thither also they shall see us direct our March. But, O Cheirisophus! I think we ought to attack these Burners, as in Defence of our own Country." Cheirisophus answered, I

am not of that Opinion. On the contrary, let us also set Fire to it ourselves, and by that Means they will give over the sooner."——

When they came to their Tents, the Soldiers employed themselves in getting Provisions, and the Generals and Captains assembled, and were in great Perplexity: for, on one Side of them were exceeding high Mountains, and on the other, a River so deep, that, when they sounded it with their Pikes, the Ends of them did not even appear above the Water. While they were in this Perplexity, a certain Rhodian came to them, and said, "Gentlemen! I'll undertake to carry over four thousand heavy-armed Men at a Time, if you'll supply me with what I want, and give me a Talent for my Pains." Being asked what he wanted, "I shall want, says he, two thousand leather Bags. I see here great numbers of Sheep, Goats, Oxen and Asses: if these are slayed, and their Skins blown, we may easily pass the River with them. I shall also want the Girts belonging to the sumpter Horses: With these, adds he, I will fasten the Bags to one another, and hanging Stones to them, let them down into the Water, instead of Anchors, then tie up the bags at both Ends, and, when they are upon the Water, lay Fascines upon them, and cover them with Earth. I will make you presently sensible, continues he, that you can't sink, for every Bag will bear up two Men, and the Fascines and the Earth will prevent them from slipping."

The Generals, hearing this, thought the Invention ingenious, but impossible to be put in Practice; there being great Numbers of Horse on the other Side of the River to oppose their Passage, and these would at once break all their Measures. The next Day the Army turned back again, taking a different Road from that which leads to Babylon; and marched to the Villages that were not burned, setting Fire to those they abandoned. Insomuch that the Enemy did not ride up to them, but looked on, wondering which Way the Greeks meant to take, and what their Intention was. Here, while the Soldiers were employed in getting Provisions, the Gen-

erals and Captains re-assembled, and ordering the Prisoners to be brought in, enquired concerning every Country that lay round them. The Prisoners informed them that there was to the South a Road that led to Babylon and Media, through which they came; another to the East, leading to Susa and Ecbatana, where the King is said to pass the Summer, and the Spring; a third to the West over the Tigris, to Lydia and Ionia; and that the Road, which lay over the Mountains to the North, led to the Carduchians.[1] This People, they said, inhabited those Mountains, and that they were a warlike Nation, and not subject to the King; and that once the King's Army, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand Men, penetrated into their Country; whence not one of them returned, the Roads being hardly passable. But that whenever there was a Peace subsisting between them and the Governor residing in the Plain, there was an Intercourse between the two Nations.

The Generals, hearing this, kept those Prisoners by themselves from whom they received the Intelligence of each Country, without discovering what Rout they designed to take. However, they found there was a Necessity to pass the Mountains, and penetrate into the Country of the Carduchians: for the Prisoners informed them, that, as soon as they had passed through it, they should arrive in Armenia, which was a spacious and plentiful Country, and of which Orontas was Governor; whence they might, without difficulty, march which Way soever they pleased. Upon this they offered Sacrifice, to the End, that, when they found it convenient, they might depart, (for they were afraid the Pass over the Mountains might be possessed by the Enemy) and commanded the Soldiers, as soon as they had supped, to get their Baggage ready; then all to go to Rest, and march upon the first Order.

[1]This People came afterwards to be better known under the Name of Parthians.

BOOK IV

We have hitherto given an Account of what happened in the Expedition of Cyrus to the time of the Battle, of what happened after the Battle, during the Truce concluded between the King and the Greeks who had served under Cyrus, and in what Manner, after the King and Tissaphernes had broken the Truce, the Greeks were harassed, while they were followed by the Persian Army.

When the Greeks came to the Place, where the River Tigris is, both from its Depth, and Breadth, absolutely impassable, and no Road appeared, the craggy Mountains of the Carduchians hanging over the River, the Generals resolved to march over those Mountains: For they were informed by the Prisoners, that, after they had passed them, they would have it in their Power to cross the Head of the Tigris in Armenia, if they thought proper; if not, to go round it. The Source of the Euphrates also was said not to be far distant from that of the Tigris;[1] and indeed the Distance between these two Rivers is in some places but small. To the End therefore that the Enemy might not be acquainted with their Design of penetrating into the Country of the Carduchians, and defeat it, by possessing themselves of the Eminences, they executed it in the following Manner. When it was about the last Watch, and so much of the Night was left, as to allow them to traverse the Plain while it was yet dark, they decamped, and, marching when the Order was given, came to the Mountain by break of Day. Cheirisophus commanded the Vanguard with his own People, and all the light-armed Men; and Xenophon brought up the Rear with the heavy-armed, having none of the light-armed, because there seemed no Danger of the Enemy's attacking their Rear, while they were marching up the Mountain. Cheirisophus gained the Top be-

[1]Strabo informs us that the Euphrates and Tigris both rise out of mount Taurus, the former on the North of it, and the latter on the South, and that the Sources of these Rivers are distant from one another about two thousand five hundred Stadia.

fore he was perceived by the Enemy: then led forward; and the rest of the Army, as fast as they passed the Summit, followed him into the Villages, that lay dispersed in the Valleys and Recesses of the Mountains.

Upon this, the Carduchians left their Houses, and, with their Wives and Children, fled to the Hills, where they had an Opportunity of supplying themselves with Provisions in Abundance. The Houses were well furnished with all sorts of brass Utensils, which the Greeks forbore to plunder; neither did they pursue the Inhabitants, in Hope, by sparing them, to prevail upon the Carduchians, since they were Enemies to the King, to conduct them through their Country in a friendly Manner: But they took all the Provisions they met with; for they were compelled to it by Necessity. However, the Carduchians paid no Regard to their Invitations, or shewed any other Symptoms of a friendly Disposition: and, when the Rear of the Greek Army was descending from the Top of the Mountains into the Villages, it being now dark, (for as the Way was narrow, they spent the whole Day in the Ascent of the Mountains, and the Descent from thence into the Villages) some of the Carduchians, gathering together, attacked the hindmost, and killed and wounded some of them with Stones, and Arrows. They were but few in number; for the Greek Army came upon them unawares. Had the Enemy been more numerous at that Time, great Part of the Army had been in Danger. In this Manner they passed the Night in the Villages: the Carduchians made Fires all round them upon the Mountains, and both had their Eyes upon one another.

As soon as it was Day, the Generals and the Captains of the Greeks assembled, and resolved to reserve only those sumpter Horses upon their March that were necessary and most able, and to leave the rest, and dismiss all the Slaves they had newly taken: for the great number of sumpter Horses and Slaves retarded their March; and many of their Men, by having Charge of these, were unfit for Action. Besides, there being so many Mouths, they were under a Necessity of providing and carrying double the Quantity of Provisions. This

being resolved, they gave Orders to have it put in Execution.——

While therefore they were upon their March after Dinner, the Generals placed themselves in a narrow Pass, and, whatever they found reserved by the Soldiers, contrary to Order, they took it away; and the Men submitted, unless any of them happened privately to have retained some Boy, or beautiful Woman he was fond of. In this Manner they marched that Day, sometimes fighting, and sometimes resting themselves. The next Day there was a great Storm, however, they were obliged to go on; for their Provisions failed them. Cheirisophus led the Van, and Xenophon brought up the Rear. Here, the Ways being narrow, the Enemy made a brisk Attack upon them, and, coming up close, discharged their Arrows, and made use of their Slings: So that the Greeks, sometimes pursuing, and sometimes retreating, were obliged to march slowly; and Xenophon often ordered the Army to halt, when the Enemy pressed hard upon them. Upon one of these Orders Cheirisophus, who used to stand still on the like Occasions, did not stop, but marched faster than usual, and ordered the Men to follow. By this it appeared there was something extraordinary, but they were not at Leisure to send to him to enquire the Cause of this Haste: So that the March of those in the Rear had the Resemblance more of a Flight, than a Retreat. Here fell a brave Man, Cleonymus a Lacedæmonian, who was wounded in the Side by an Arrow, that made its Way both through his Shield and his buff Coat. Here also fell Basias an Arcadian, whose Head was pierced quite through with an Arrow. When they were arrived at the Place, where they designed to encamp, Xenophon immediately went, as he was, to Cheirisophus, and blamed him for not stopping, but obliging the Rear to fly and fight at the same Time. "Here we have lost two brave and worthy Men, says he, without being able either to bring them off, or to bury them." To this Cheirisophus answered, "Cast your Eyes, upon those Mountains, and observe how unpassable they all are. You see there is but one Road, and that a steep one. It is, you may observe, possessed too by a great Multitude of

Men, who stand ready to defend it. For this Reason I marched hastily, without staying for you, that, if possible, I might prevent the Enemy, and make myself Master of the Pass: for our Guides assure us there is no other Road." Xenophon replied, "I have two Prisoners: for, when the Enemy molested us in our March, we placed some Men in Ambush, (which gave us time to breathe) and, having killed some of them, we were also desirous of taking some alive with this View, that we might have Guides who were acquainted with the Country."

The Prisoners therefore being brought before them, they questioned them separately, whether they knew of any other Road than That, which lay before them. One of them said he knew no other, though he was threatened with divers Kinds of Torture. As he said nothing to the Purpose, he was put to Death in the Presence of the other. The Survivor said, this Man pretended he did not know the other Road, because he had a Daughter married to a Man, who lived there: But that he himself would undertake to conduct us through a Road that was passable even for the sumpter Horses. Being asked whether there was any difficult Pass in that Road, he said there was a Summit, which, if not secured in Time, would render the Passage impracticable. Upon this it was thought proper to assemble the Captains, the Targeteers, and some of the heavy-armed Men: And, having informed them how Matters stood, to ask them whether any of them would shew their Gallantry, and voluntarily undertake this Service. Two of the heavy-armed Men offered themselves, Aristonymus of Methydria, and Agasias of Stymphalus, both Arcadians. But Callimachus of Parrhasie, an Arcadian, and Agasias had a Contest who should undertake it. The latter said that he would go, and take with him Voluntiers out of the whole Army. "For I am well assured, says he, if I have the Command, many of the Youth will follow me." After that they asked if any of the light-armed Men, or of their Officers would also be of the Party. Upon which Aristeas of Chios presented himself. He had, upon many Occasions of this nature, done great Service to the Army.

The Day was now far advanced: So the Generals ordered

these to eat something, and set out; and delivered the Guide to them bound. It was agreed that if they made themselves Masters of the Summit, they should make it good that Night, and, as soon as it was Day, give them Notice of it by sounding a Trumpet: And that those above should charge that Body of the Enemy that was posted in the Passage that lay before them, while those below marched up to their Assistance with all the Expedition they were able. When Things were thus ordered, they set forward, being about two thousand in Number. And, notwithstanding it rained most violently, Xenophon marched at the Head of the Rear-Guard towards the Passage before them, in order to draw the Attention of the Enemy that Way, and conceal, as much as possible, the March of the Detachment. When Xenophon, with the Rear-Guard, came to a Valley which they were to pass, in order to climb the Ascent, the Barbarians rolled down vast round Stones, each a Ton in Weight, with others both larger and smaller. These, being dashed against the Rocks in their Fall, the Splinters were hurled every Way, which made it absolutely impossible to approach the Road. Some of the Captains despairing to gain this Passage, endeavoured to find out another, and employed themselves in this Manner, 'till it was dark. When they imagined they could retire without being seen, they went away to get their Supper; for the Rear-Guard had not dined that Day. However, the Enemy continued to roll down Stones all Night, as was perceived by the Noise they made in their Fall. In the mean Time, those, who marched round with the Guide, surprized the Enemy's Guard as they were sitting round a Fire: And, having killed some of them, and forced others down the Precipice, they staid there, thinking they had made themselves Masters of the Summit. But in this they were mistaken, for there was still an Eminence above them, near which lay the narrow Way, where the Guard sate: There was indeed a Passage, from the Post they had taken, to that the Enemy were possessed of in the open Road. Here they remained that Night.

As soon as it was Day, they put themselves in Order, and marched in Silence against the Enemy: And, there being a

Mist, came close to them before they were perceived. When they saw one another, the Trumpet sounded, and the Greeks shouting, made their Attack. However the Barbarians did not stand to receive them, but quitted the Road, very few of them being killed in the Flight: for they were prepared for Expedition. Cheirisophus and his Men, hearing the Trumpet, immediately marched up the Pass which lay before them. The rest of the Generals took Bye-paths, each of them where he happened to be, and, climbing as well as they could, drew up one another with their Pikes; And these were the first who joined the Detachment that had gained the Post. Xenophon, with one half of the Rear-Guard, marched up the same Way those went who had the Guide, (this Road being the most convenient for the sumpter Horses) the other half he ordered to come up behind the Baggage. In their March they came to a Hill that commanded the Road, and was possessed by the Enemy, whom they were either to dislodge, or to be severed from the rest of the Greeks. The Men indeed might have gone the same Way the rest took, but the sumpter Horses could go no other. Encouraging therefore one another, they made their Attack upon the Hill in Columns, not surrounding it, but leaving the Enemy Room to run away, if they were so disposed. Accordingly, the Barbarians seeing our Men marching up the Hill, every one where he could, without discharging either their Arrows, or their Darts upon those who approached the Road, fled, and quitted the Place. The Greeks, having marched by this Hill, saw another before them also possessed by the Enemy. This they resolved to attack likewise: But Xenophon considering, that, if he left the Hill, they had already taken, without a Guard, the Enemy might repossess it, and from thence annoy the sumpter Horses as they passed by them; (for the Way being narrow, there was a long File of them.) He therefore left upon this Hill Cephisodorus the Son of Cephisiphon, an Athenian, and Archagoras a banished Argive, both Captains; while he, with the rest, marched to the second Hill, and took that also in the same manner. There yet remained a third, by much the steepest. This was the Eminence that commanded the Post where the Guard was surprized at the Fire, the Night before, by the

Detachment. When the Greeks approached the Hill, the Barbarians quitted it without striking a Stroke: So that every body was surprized, and suspected they left the Place, fearing to be surrounded and besieged in it. But the Truth was, that, seeing from the Eminence what passed behind, they all made Haste away with a Design to fall upon the Rear.

Xenophon, with the youngest of his Men, ascended to the Top of this Hill, and ordered the rest to march slowly after, that the two Captains, who were left behind, might join them: And that when they were all together, they should chuse some even Place in the Road, and there stand to their Arms. He had no sooner given his Orders than Archagoras, the Argive, came flying from the Enemy, and brought an Account, that they were driven from the first Hill, and that Cephisodorus and Amphicrates, and all the rest, who had not leaped from the Rock and joined the Rear, were slain. The Barbarians, after this Advantage, came to the Hill opposite to that where Xenophon stood; and Xenophon treated with them, by an Interpreter, concerning a Truce, and demanded the Dead. They consented to deliver them, provided he agreed not to burn their Villages. Xenophon came into this. While the other part of the Army approached, and these were employed in treating, all the Men moved from the Post they were in towards the same Place. Upon this the Enemy made a stand, and, when the Greeks began to descend from the Top of the Hill to join those who were drawn up in Order of Battle, they advanced in great Numbers, and with Tumult; and, after they had gained the top of the Hill, which Xenophon had quitted, they rolled down Stones, and broke the Leg of one of our Men. Here Xenophon's Armour-bearer deserted him, taking away his Shield: But Eurylochus of Lusia, an Arcadian, and one of the heavy-armed Men ran to his Relief, and covered both himself and Xenophon with his Shield, while the rest joined those who stood ready drawn up.

And now the Greeks were all together, and quartered there, in many fine Houses, where they found Provisions in Abundance: For there was so great a Plenty of Wine, that they

kept it in plaistered Cisterns. Here Xenophon and Cheirisophus prevailed upon the Barbarians to deliver up their Dead in Exchange for the Guide. These, as far as they were able, they buried with all the Honours that are due to the Memory of brave Men. The next Day they marched without a Guide, and the Enemy, both by fighting with them, and seizing all the Passes, endeavoured to hinder them from advancing. Whenever therefore they opposed the Vanguard, Xenophon ascending the Mountains from behind, endeavoured to gain some Post that commanded the Enemy, and by this Means opened a Passage for those who were in the Van: And, when they attacked the Rear, Cheirisophus ascended the Hills, and endeavouring also to get above the Enemy, removed the Obstruction they gave to the march of the Rear. Thus they were very attentive to relieve one another. Sometimes also the Barbarians, after the Greeks had ascended the Eminences, gave them great Disturbance in their Descent: For they were very nimble; and though they came near to our Men, yet still they got off, having no other Arms but Bows and Slings. They were very skilful Archers: Their Bows were near three Cubits in length, and their Arrows above two. When they discharged their Arrows, they drew the String by pressing upon the lower part of the Bow with their left Foot. These Arrows pierced through the Shields and Corslets of our Men, who taking them up, made Use of them instead of Darts, by fixing Thongs to them. In these Places the Cretans were of great Service. They were commanded by Stratocles, a Cretan.

This Day they staid in the Villages situate above the Plain that extends to the River Centrites, which is two hundred Feet broad, and the Boundary between Armenia and the Country of the Carduchians. Here the Greeks rested themselves. This River is about six or seven Stadia from the Carduchian Mountains. Here therefore they staid with great Satisfaction, having Plenty of Provisions, and often calling to Mind the Difficulties they had undergone. For, during the seven Days, they had marched through the Country of the Carduchians, they were continually fighting, and suffered

more than from all the attempts of the King and Tissaphernes. Looking upon themselves therefore, as freed from these Hardships, they rested with Pleasure. But, as soon as it was Day, they saw a Body of Horse, on the other Side of the River, compleatly armed, and ready to oppose their Passage; and, above the Horse, another of Foot drawn up upon an Eminence, to hinder them from penetrating into Armenia. These were Armenians, Mygdonians, and Chaldæans, all mercenary Troops, belonging to Orontas and Artuchus. The Chaldæans were said to be a free People, and Warlike: Their Arms were long Shields and Spears. The Eminence upon which they were drawn up, was about three or four hundred Feet from the River. The only Road the Greeks could discover, led upwards, and seemed to have been made by Art. Over-against this Road the Greeks endeavoured to pass the River: but, upon Trial, they found the Water came up above their Breasts, that the River was rendered uneven by large slippery Stones, and that it was not possible for them to hold their Arms in the Water, which if they attempted, they were borne away by the Stream, and, if they carried them upon their Heads, they were exposed to the Arrows, and the other missive Weapons of the Enemy. They retired therefore, and encamped on the Banks of the River.

From hence they discovered a great Number of armed Carduchians, who were got together upon the Mountain, in the very Place where they had encamped the Night before. Here the Greeks were very much disheartened, seeing on one Side of them a River hardly passable and the Banks of it covered with Troops to obstruct their Passage, and on the other, the Carduchians ready to fall upon their Rear, if they attempted it. This Day therefore, and the following Night, they remained in the same Place under great Perplexity. Here Xenophon had a Dream, he thought he was in Chains, and that his chains breaking asunder of their own accord, he found himself at Liberty, and went whithersoever he pleased. As soon as the first Dawn of Day appeared, he went to Cheirisophus, and told him he was in hopes every thing would be well, and acquainted him with

his Dream. Cheirisophus was pleased to hear it: And, while the Morn advanced, all the Generals, who were present, offered Sacrifice, and the very first Victims were favourable. As soon therefore as the Sacrifice was over, the Generals and Captains departing ordered the Soldiers to get their Breakfast. While Xenophon was at Breakfast, two young Men came to him, for it was well known that all Persons might have free access to him at his Meals; and, that, were he even asleep, they might wake him, if they had any thing to communicate concerning the Operations of the War. These Youths informed him, that, while they were getting Brush-wood for the Fire, they saw on the other Side of the River, among the Rocks that reached down to it, an old Man, and a Woman with some Maid-Servants, hiding something, that looked like Bags full of Clothes, in the hollow of a Rock. That, seeing this, they thought they might securely pass the River, because the Place was inaccessible to the Enemy's Horse. So they undressed themselves, and, taking their naked Daggers in their Hands, proposed to swim over: But the River being fordable, they found themselves on the other Side before the Water came up to their Middle: And, having taken the Clothes, repassed it.

Xenophon, hearing this, made a Libation himself, and ordered Wine to be given to the Youths to do the same, and that they should address their Prayers to the Gods, who had sent the Dream, and discovered the Passage to compleat their Happiness. After the Libation, he immediately carried the two youths to Cheirisophus, to whom they gave the same Account. Cheirisophus, hearing this, made Libations also. After that, they gave Orders to the Soldiers to get their Baggage ready. Then, assembling the Generals, they consulted with them in what Manner they should pass the River with most Advantage, and both overcome those who opposed them in Front, and secure themselves against the others, who threatened their Rear. And it was resolved that Cheirisophus should lead the Van, and pass over with one half of the Army, while the other staid with Xenophon: And that the sumpter Horses, with all those that attended the Army, should pass in the middle. After this Disposition was made, they began their March.

The two Youths led the way, keeping the River on their left. They had about four Stadia to go to come to the Ford.

As they marched on one Side of the River, several Bodies of Horse advanced on the other opposite to them. When they came to the Ford, and to the Bank of the River, the Men stood to their Arms, and first Cheirisophus, with a Garland upon his head, pulled off his Clothes, and, taking his arms, commanded all the rest to do the same: He then ordered the Captains to draw up their Companies in Columns, and march some on his left Hand, and some on his right. In the mean Time the Priests offered Sacrifice, and Poured the Blood of the Victims into the River; and the Enemy from their Bows and Slings discharged a Volley of Arrows and Stones, but none of them reached our Men. After the Victims appeared favourable, all the Soldiers sung the Pæan and shouted, and all the Women answered them; for the Men had many Mistresses in the Army.

Immediately Cheirisophus with his Men, went into the River; and Xenophon, taking those of the Rear-guard, who were most prepared for Expedition, marched back in all Haste to the Passage opposite to the Road that led to the Armenian Mountains, making a Feint, as if his Design was to pass the River in that Place, and intercept the Horse that were marching along the Bank of it. The Enemy, seeing Cheirisophus with his Men passing the River with great Ease, and Xenophon, with his Forces, marching back in all Haste, were afraid of being intercepted, and fled with Precipitation to the Road, that led from the River up into the Country. Having gained that Road, they continued their March up the Mountain. As soon as Lycius, who had the Command of the Horse, and Æschines, who commanded the Targeteers belonging to Cheirisophus saw the Enemy flying with so much Haste, they pursued them, the rest of the Soldiers crying out to them that they would not be left behind, but would march up the Mountain in a body. When Cheirisophus had passed the River with his Forces, he did not pursue the Horse, but marched along the Bank against the other Body of the Enemy posted upon the

upper Ground. These, finding themselves abandoned by their Horse, and seeing our heavy-armed Men coming up to attack them, quitted the Eminence that commanded the River.

Xenophon therefore perceiving every thing went well on the other Side, returned in all Haste to the Army that was passing over; for, by this Time the Carduchians were seen descending into the Plain, as if they designed to fall upon the Rear. Cheirisophus had now possessed himself of the Eminence, and Lycius, while he was pursuing the Enemy, with a few of his Men, took part of their Baggage that was left behind, and in it, rich Apparel, and drinking Cups. The Baggage of the Greeks, with those who had Charge of it, was yet passing; when Xenophon, facing about, drew up his Men against the Carduchians. He ordered all the Captains to divide their several Companies into two distinct Bodies of twenty-five Men each, and to extend their Front to the Left, and that the Captains with the Leaders of these distinct Bodies should march against the Carduchians, while the hindmost Men of every File posted themselves upon the Bank of the River.

Now the Carduchians, when they saw the Rear reduced to a few by the Departure of those who had the Charge of the Baggage, advanced the faster, singing as they came on. Upon this, Cheirisophus, seeing all on his Side was secure, sent the Targeteers, the Slingers, and Archers to Xenophon, with Directions to do whatever he commanded: But he, as soon as he saw them coming down the Hill, sent a Messenger to them with Orders to halt, as soon as they came to the River; and that, when they saw him begin to pass it with his Men, they should come forward in the Water on each side opposite to him, the Darters with their Fingers in the Slings of their Darts, and the Archers with their Arrows on the String, as if they designed to pass over, but not advance far into the River. At the same Time he ordered his own Men, when they came near enough to the Enemy to reach them with their Slings, and the heavy-armed Men struck their shields with their Pikes, to sing the Pæan, and rush at once upon the Enemy: And, when they were put to Flight, and the Trumpet from the River

sounded a Charge,[1] to face about to the Right, and that the hindmost Men of every File should lead the Way, and all make what haste they could to the River, which they were to pass in their Ranks, that they might not hinder one another; telling them that he should look upon him as the bravest Man, who first reached the opposite Side.

The Carduchians, seeing those who remained, but few in Number, (for many even of those who had orders to stay, were gone, some to take Care of the sumpter Horses, some of their Baggage, and others of other things) came up boldly towards them, and began to use their Slings and Bows. But, when the Greeks, singing the Pæan, ran forward to attack them, they did not stand to receive them, (for though they were well enough armed for a sudden Onset and Retreat upon the Mountains they inhabited, yet they were not at all so to fight Hand to Hand.) In the mean Time the Trumpet sounded upon which the Enemy fled much faster than before; and the Greeks, facing about, passed the River in all Haste. Some of the Enemy seeing this, ran back to the River, and wounded a few of our Men with their Arrows; but many of them, even when the Greeks were on the other Side, were observed to continue their Flight. In the mean Time those who had met them in the River, carried on by their Courage, advanced unseasonably, and repassed it after Xenophon and his Men were on the other Side; by this Means some of them also were wounded.

The Army, having passed the River about Noon, drew up in their Ranks, and, in this manner, marched at once over the Plain of Armenia, intermixed with Hills of an easy Ascent.

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[1] Why should Xenophon order a Charge to be sounded when his Men were to retreat? I imagine his Intention was, to make the Enemy fly the faster, that so they might be at a greater Distance from them, when they were engaged in passing the River; and this seems to have been the Effect of it, for Xenophon will tell us presently, that, when the Trumpet sounded, the Enemy fled much faster than before.

making no less than five Parasangas: For there were no Villages near the River, by Reason of the continual Wars with the Carduchians. However at last they came to a large Village, that had a Palace in it belonging to the Satrape, and upon most of the Houses there were Turrets: Here they found Provisions in Abundance. From this Place they made, in two Days March, ten Parasangas, 'till they were advanced above the Head of the Tigris. From thence they made fifteen Parasangas in three Days March, and came to the River Teleboas. The River though not large, was beautiful, and had many fine Villages on its Banks: This Country was called the western Part of Armenia. The Governor of it was Teribazus, who had behaved himself with great Fidelity to the King, and, when he was present, no other lifted the King on Horseback. This Person rode up towards the Greeks with a Body of Horse, and, sending his Interpreter, acquainted them that he desired to speak with their Commanders. Upon this the Generals thought proper to hear what he had to say, and, advancing within hearing, asked him what he wanted. He answered that he was willing to enter into a League with them upon these Terms: That He should not do any Injury to the Greeks, or they burn the Houses, but have Liberty to take what Provisions they wanted. The Generals agreed to this: so they concluded a League upon these Conditions.

From thence they advanced through a Plain, and in three Days March made fifteen Parasangas. Teribazus following them with his Forces, at the Distance of about ten Stadia; when they came to a Palace surrounded with many Villages abounding in all Sorts of Provisions. While they lay encamped in this Place, there fell so great a Snow in the Night, that it was resolved the next Morning the Soldiers, with their Generals, should remove into the Villages, and quarter there: for no Enemy appeared; and the great Quantity of Snow seemed a Security to them. Here they found all sorts of good Provisions; such as Cattle, Corn, old Wines exceeding fragrant, Raisins and Legumens of all Kinds. In the mean Time some of the Men, who had straggled from the Camp, brought Word that they had seen an Army, and that

in the Night many Fires appeared. For this Reason the Generals thought it not safe for the Troops to quarter in the Villages at a Distance from one another; so resolved to bring the Army together. Upon this they re-assembled, and it was determined to encamp abroad. While they passed the Night in this Camp, there fell so great a Quantity of Snow, that it covered both the Arms and the Men as they lay upon the Ground: the sumpter Horses also were so benummed with the Snow, that it was with Difficulty they were made to rise. It was a miserable Sight to see the Men lie upon the Ground still covered with Snow. But, when Xenophon was so hardy as to rise naked, and rive Wood, immediately another got up, and, taking the Wood from him, cleft it himself. Upon this they all rose up, and, making Fires, anointed themselves; for they found there many Sorts of Ointments, which served them instead of Oil, as Hogs-grease, Oil of Sesame, of bitter Almonds, and of Turpentine. There was also found a precious Ointment made of all these.

After this they determined to disperse themselves again in the Villages, and quarter under Cover. Upon which the Soldiers ran with great Shouts and Pleasure to the Houses and Provisions: But those who had set Fire to the Houses, when they left them before, were justly punished by encamping abroad, exposed to the Inclemency of the Weather. From hence they sent that Night a Detachment to the Mountains, where the Stragglers said they had seen the Fires, under the Command of Democrates of Temenus, because he was ever thought to give a true Account of things of this Nature, reporting Matters as they really were. At his Return he said he had seen no Fires, but, having taken a Prisoner, he brought him with him. This Man had a Persian Bow and Quiver, and an Amazonian Battle-Ax; and, being asked of what Country he was, he said he was a Persian, and that he went from the Army of Teribazus to get Provisions. Upon this they asked him of what Numbers that Army consisted, and with what Intention it was assembled. He answered, that Teribazus besides his own Army, had mercenary Troops of Chalybians and Taochians; and, that his Design was to attack the Greeks in

their Passage over the Mountains, as they marched through the Defile, which was their only Road.

The Generals, hearing this, resolved to assemble the Army, and, leaving a Guard in the Camp under the command of Sophænetus of Stymphalus they immediately set forward, taking the Prisoner with them for their Guide. After they had passed the Mountains, the Targeteers, who marched before the rest, as soon as they discovered the Enemy's Camp, ran to it with Shouts, without staying for the heavy-armed Men. The Barbarians, hearing the Tumult, did not stand their Ground, but fled. However, some of them were killed, and about Twenty Horses taken, as was also the Tent of Teribazus, in which they found Beds with Silver Feet, and drinking Cups, with some Prisoners, who said they were his Bakers and Cup-Bearers. When the Commanders of the heavy-armed Men were informed of all that passed, they determined to return in all Haste to their own Camp, lest any Attempt should be made upon those they had left there; and immediately ordering a Retreat to be sounded, they returned, and arrived there the same Day.

The next Day they resolved to march away with all the haste they could, before the Enemy should rally their Forces, and possess themselves of the Pass. Their Baggage therefore being presently ready, they set forward through a deep Snow with many Guides; and, having the same Day passed the Eminence, upon which Teribazus designed to attack them, they encamped. From thence they made three Marches through a Desert, and came to the Euphrates which they passed, the Water coming up to their Navel. It was said the Sources of this River were not far off. From thence they made, in three Days March, fifteen Parasangas over a Plain covered with a deep Snow. The last Day's March was very grievous, for the North Wind, blowing full in their Faces, quite parched and benummed the Men. Upon this one of the Priests advised to sacrifice to the Wind, which was complied with, and the Vehemence of it visibly abated. The Snow was a Fathom in Depth, insomuch that many of the

Slaves and sumpter Horses died, and about thirty Soldiers. They made Fires all Night, for they found Plenty of Wood in the Place where they encamped; and those who came late, having no Wood, the others, who were before arrived, and had made Fires, would not allow them to warm themselves, 'till they had given them a Share of the Wheat, or of the other Provisions they had brought with them. By this Exchange they relieved one another's Wants. In the Places where the Fires were made, the Snow being melted, there were large Pits which reached down to the Ground; this afforded an Opportunity of measuring the Depth of the Snow.

From thence they marched all the next Day through the Snow, when many of the Men contracted the Bulimy.[1] Xenophon, who commanded the Rear, seeing them lie upon the ground, knew not what their Distemper was: But, being informed by those, who were acquainted with it, that it was plainly the Bulimy, and that, if they eat any thing they would rise again, he went to the Baggage, and, whatever Refreshments he found there, he gave some to those who were afflicted with this Distemper, and sent Persons able to go about, to divide the rest among others, who were in the same Condition: And, as soon as they had eaten something, they rose up, and continued their March. During which, Cheirisophus came to a Village, just as it was dark, and, at a Fountain, without the Walls, he found some Women and Girls, who belonged to it, carrying Water. These enquired who they were? the Interpreter answered in Persian that they were going to the Satrape from the King. The Women replied, that he was not there, but at a Place distant about a Parasanga from thence. As it was late, they entered the

[1] The Bulimy is a Distemper creating excessive Hunger; it is thus described with all its Symptoms by Galen: The Bulimy is a Disorder in which the Patient frequently craves for Victuals, loses the Use of his Limbs, falls down, and turns pale; his Extremities become cold, his Stomach oppressed, and his Pulse scarce sensible. The French Philosophical Transactions speak of a Countryman who was violently afflicted with this Distemper, but was cured by voiding several Worms of the Length and Bigness of a Tobacco-pipe.

Walls together with the Women, and went to the Bailiff of the Town. Here Cheirisophus encamped with all that could come up. The rest, who were unable to continue their March, passed the Night without Victuals or Fire, by which Means some of them perished: And a Party of the Enemy following our March, took some of the sumpter Horses that could not keep Pace with the rest, and fought with one another about them. Some of the Men also, who had lost their Sight by the Snow, or whose Toes were rotted off by the Intenseness of the Cold, were left behind. The Eyes were relieved against the Snow by wearing something black before them, and the Feet against the Cold, by continual Motion, and by pulling off their Shoes in the Night. If any slept with their Shoes on, the Latchets pierced their Flesh, and their Shoes stuck to their Feet; for, when their old Shoes were worn out, they wore Carbatines made of raw Hides. These Grievances therefore occasioned some of the Soldiers to be left behind; who, seeing a Piece of Ground that appeared black, because there was no Snow upon it, concluded it was melted; and melted it was by a Vapour that was continually exhaling from a Fountain in a Valley near the Place. Thither they betook themselves, and, sitting down, refused to march any further. Xenophon, who had Charge of the Rear, as soon as he was informed of this, tried all Means to prevail upon them not to be left behind, telling them that the Enemy were got together in great Numbers, and followed them close. At last he grew angry. They bid him kill them, if he would, for they were not able to go on. Upon this, he thought the best Thing he could do, was, if possible, to strike a Terror into the Enemy that followed, lest they should fall upon the Men who were tired. It was now dark, and the Enemy came on with great Tumult, quarrelling with one another about their Booty. Upon this, such of the Rear-guard as were well, rising up, rushed upon them; while those who were tired, shouted out as loud as they could, and struck their Shields with their Pikes. The Enemy, alarmed at this, threw themselves into the Valley through the Snow, and were no more heard of.

Then Xenophon, with the rest of the Forces, went away, assuring the sick Men, that, the next Day some People should

be sent to them: But, before they had gone four Stadia, they found others taking their Rest in the Snow, and covered with it, no Guard being appointed. These they obliged to rise who acquainted him, that those in the Head of the Army did not move forward. Xenophon, hearing this, went on, and sending the ablest of the Targeteers before, ordered them to see what was the Occasion of the Stop. They brought Word that the whole Army took their Rest in that Manner. So that Xenophon and his Men, after they had appointed such Guards as they were able, passed the Night there also without either Fire or Victuals. When it was near Day, he sent the youngest of his Men to oblige the Sick to get up and come away. In the mean Time Cheirisophus sent some from the Village to enquire in what Condition the Rear was. These were rejoiced to see them, and having delivered their Sick to them to be conducted to the Camp, they marched forward: And, before they had gone twenty Stadia, they found themselves in the Village, where Cheirisophus was quartered. When they came together, they were of Opinion that the Army might quarter in the Villages with Safety. So Cheirisophus staid in the Place he was in, and the rest went to the several Villages that were allotted to them.

Here Polycrates, an Athenian, one of the Captains, desired he might have Leave to absent himself; and, taking with him those who were most prepared for Expedition, he made such Haste to the Village that had fallen to Xenophon's Lot, that he surprised all the Inhabitants together with their Bailiff in their Houses. He found here seventeen Colts, that were bred as a Tribute for the King; and also the Bailiff's Daughter, who had not been married above nine Days. However, her Husband, being gone to hunt the Hare, was not taken in any of the Villages. Their Houses were under Ground; the Mouth resembling that of a Well, but spacious below: There was an Entrance dug for the Cattle, but the Inhabitants descended by Ladders. In these Houses were Goats, Sheep, Cows and Fowls, with their young. All the Cattle were maintained within Doors with Fodder. There was also Wheat, Barley, and Legumens, and Beer in Jars, in which the Malt

itself floated even with the Brims of the Vessels,[1] and with it Reeds, some large, and others small, without Joints. These, when any one was dry, he was to take into his Mouth and suck. The Liquor was very strong, when it was unmixed with Water, and was exceeding pleasant to those who were used to it.

Xenophon invited the Bailiff of this Village to sup with him, and encouraged him with this Assurance, that his Children should not be taken from him, and that, when they went away, they would leave his House full of Provisions in Return for those they took, provided he performed some signal Service to the Army, by conducting them, 'till they came to another Nation. The Bailiff promised to perform this, and, as an instance of his Good-will, informed them where there was Wine buried. The Soldiers rested that Night in their several Quarters in the midst of Plenty, keeping a Guard upon the Bailiff, and having an Eye at the same Time upon his Children. The next Day Xenophon, taking the Bailiff along with him, went to Cheirisophus, and, in every Village through which he passed, made a Visit to those, who were quartered there; and found them every where feasting and rejoicing. They all would force him to sit down to Dinner with them, and he every where found the Tables covered with Lamb, Kid, Pork, Veal and Fowls; with Plenty of Bread, some made of Wheat, and some of Barley. When any one had a Mind to drink to his Friend, he took him to the Jar, where he was obliged to stoop, and, sucking, drink like an Ox. The Soldiers gave the

[1]Literally Barley Wine. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that Osiris, that is, the Egyptian Bacchus, was the Inventor of Malt Liquor as a Relief to those Countries, where Vines did not succeed, which is the Reason assigned by Herodotus for the Egyptians using it. This was also the Liquor used in France, 'till the Time of the Emperor Probus, when Vines were first planted there. Pliny says they called it Cervisia, a Word probably derived from Cervoise, which, among the ancient Gauls, signified Beer. Julian, who was Governor of France, before he was Emperor, vents his Spleen against Malt-Liquor, which Necessity, or rather Ignorance, in his Time, had made the Drink of that Country. (See The Greek Anthology, volume three.)

Bailiff leave to take whatever he desired; but he took nothing, only wherever he met with any of his Relations, he carried them along with him.

When they came to Cheirisophus they found them also feasting, and crowned with Garlands made of Hay, and Armenian Boys, in Barbarian Dresses, waiting on them. To these they signified by Signs what they would have them do, as if they had been deaf. As soon as Cheirisophus and Xenophon had embraced one another, they asked the Bailiff, by their Interpreter who spoke the Persian Language, what Country it was. He answered, Armenia. After that they asked him for whom the Horses were bred. He said for the King, as a Tribute. He added that the neighbouring Country was inhabited by the Chalybians, and informed them of the Road that led to it. After that Xenophon went away, carrying back the Bailiff to his Family, and gave him the Horse he had taken some time before, which was an old one, with a Charge that he should recover him for a Sacrifice, (for he had heard he was consecrated to the Sun) being afraid that, as he was very much fatigued with the Journey, he should die. At the same Time he took one of the young Horses for himself, and gave one of them to each of the Generals and Captains. The Horses of this Country are less than those of Persia, but have a great deal more Spirit. Upon this Occasion, the Bailiff taught us to tie Bags to the Feet of the Horses and Beasts of Burden, when they travelled through the Snow, for, without them, they sunk up to their Bellies.

After they had staid here eight Days, Xenophon delivered the Bailiff to Cheirisophus, to serve him as a Guide, and left him all his Family, except his Son, a Youth just in the Flower of his Age. This Youth he committed to the Charge of Episthenis of Amphipolis, with a Design to send him back with his Father, if he conducted them in a proper Manner. At the same Time they carried as many Things as they could into his House, and, decamping, marched away. The Bailiff conducted them through the Snow unbound. They had now marched three Days, when Cheirisophus grew angry with him for not carrying them to some Villages. The Bailiff said there were

none in that Part of the Country. Upon this Cheirisopnus struck him, but did not order him to be bound: So that he made his Escape in the Night, leaving his Son behind him. This ill Treatment and Neglect of the Bailiff was the Cause of the only Difference, that happened between Cheirisophus and Xenophon during their whole March. Episthenis took an Affection to the Youth, and, carrying him into Greece, found great Fidelity in him.

After this they made seven Marches at the Rate of five Parasangas each Day, and arrived at the River Phasis,[1] which is about one hundred Feet in Breadth. From thence they made, in two Marches, ten Parasangas; when they found the Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians posted upon the Passage that led over the Mountains to the Plain. As soon as Cheirisophus saw the Enemy in Possession of that Post, he halted at the Distance of about thirty Stadia, that he might not approach them while the Army marched in a Column: For which Reason he ordered the Captains to bring up their Companies to the Front, that the Army might be drawn up in a Line.

When the Rear-Guard came up, he called the Generals and Captains together, and spoke to them in this Manner. "The Enemy, you see are Masters of the Pass over the Mountain. We are therefore now to consider in what manner we may charge them with the greatest Advantage. It is my Opinion that while the Soldiers get their Dinner, we should consult among ourselves, whether it will be most proper to attempt the Passage to-day, or stay 'till to-morrow." "My Advice is," says Cleanor, "that as soon as we have dined, we should take our Arms, and attack the Enemy; for, if we defer it 'till to-morrow, this Delay will inspire those who observe us with Confidence, and their Confidence, will, in all Probability, draw others to their Assistance.

[1]It must be observed that this is not the River Phasis, which falls into the Euxine Sea, and to which Sportsmen are obliged for the Breed of Pheasants. Delisle is of opinion that the Phasis here mentioned is the Araxes, which falls into the Caspian Sea.

After him, Xenophon said, "This is my Sense of the Matter. If we are obliged to fight, we ought to prepare our selves to fight with all possible Bravery: But, if we propose to pass the Mountain in the easiest manner, we are to consider by what means we may receive the fewest Wounds, and lose the fewest Men. The Mountain that lies before us, reaches above sixty Stadia in Length, and, in all this Extent, no Guard appears to be posted any where, but only in this Part. For which Reason I should think it more for our Advantage to endeavour to surprize some unguarded Place upon the Mountain, and, if possible, prevent their seizing it, than to attack a Post already fortified, and Men prepared to resist: For it is easier to climb a steep Ascent, without fighting, than to march upon plain Ground, when the Enemy are posted on both Sides of us. We can also better see what lies before us in the Night, when we are not obliged to fight, than in the Day-time, when we are: And the roughest Way is easier to those who march without fighting than an even Way, to those whose Heads are exposed to the Darts of an Enemy. Neither do I think it impossible for us to steal such a March, since we may have the Advantage of the Night to conceal us, and may take so great a Circuit as not to be discovered. I am also of Opinion, that, if we make a false Attack upon the Post which is possessed by the Enemy, we shall, by that means, find the rest of the Mountain more unguarded: For this will oblige them to keep all their Forces in a Body. But why do I mention Stealing? Since I am informed, O Cheirisophus! that among you Lacedæmonians, those of the first Rank practise it from their Childhood, and that, instead of being a Dishonour, it is your Duty to steal those things which the Law has not forbidden: And to the End you may learn to steal with the greatest Dexterity and Secrecy imaginable, your Laws have provided that those who are taken in a Theft, shall be whipped." This is the Time therefore for you to shew how far your Education has improved you, and to take Care that, in stealing this March, we are not discovered, lest we smart severely for it."

Cheirisophus answered, "I am also informed, that you Athenians are very expert in stealing the public Money, not-

withstanding the great Danger you are exposed to, and that your best Men are the most expert at it, that is, if you chuse your best Men for your Magistrates. So that this is a proper Time for you also to shew the Effects of your Education." I am ready, replies Xenophon, to march with the Rear-Guard, as soon as we have supped, in order to possess myself of the Mountain. I have Guides with me: for our light-armed Men have, in an Ambuscade, taken some of the Marauders, that follow the Army. By these I am informed that the Mountain is not inaccessible, but that Goats and Oxen graze upon it, so that, if we are once Masters of any Part of it, it will be accessible also to our sumpter Horses. Neither do I believe the Enemy will keep their Post, when they see we are Masters of the Summit, and upon an Equality with themselves; because they are now unwilling to come down to us upon equal Ground." But Cheirisophus said, "Why should you go, and leave the Charge of the Rear? Rather send others, unless any offer themselves to this Service." Upon this Aristonymus of Methydria presented himself with his heavy-armed Men, and Aristeus of Chius, and Nicomachus of Oete, both with their light-armed. And it was agreed that, when they had possessed themselves of the Summit, they should light several Fires. When these Things were settled, they went to Dinner, after which Cheirisophus led the whole Army within ten Stadia of the Foe, as if he had absolutely resolved to march that Way.

Supper being ended, and Night coming on, those who had Orders marched away, and made themselves Masters of the Top of the Mountain. The others went to Rest where they were. The Enemy, finding our Men were possessed of that Post, remained under Arms, and made many Fires all Night. As soon as it was Day, Cheirisophus, after he had offered Sacrifice, led his Forces up the Road, while those who had gained the Summit attacked the Enemy; great Part of whom staid to defend the Pass, and the rest advanced against those who were Masters of the Eminence. But, before Cheirisophus could come up to the Enemy, those upon the Summit were engaged; where our Men had the Advantage, and drove the Enemy before them. In the mean Time the Greek Targeteers

ran on from the Plain to attack those who were ready drawn up to receive them, and Cheirisophus, at the Head of the heavy-armed Men, followed as fast as was consistent with a regular March. However the Enemy that were posted in the Pass, when they saw those above give way, fled also. When great Numbers of them were slain, and many of their Bucklers taken, which the Greeks, by cutting them to Pieces, rendered useless. As soon as they had gained the Ascent, they offered Sacrifice, and having erected a Trophy, marched down into the Plain, where they found Villages well stored with all Sorts of Provisions.

From hence they came to the Country of the Taochians, making in five Marches, thirty Parasanges; and here their Provisions began to fail them: For the Taochians inhabited Fastnesses, into which they had conveyed all their Provisions. At last the Army arrived at a strong Place, which had neither City, nor Houses upon it, but where great Numbers of Men and Women with their Cattle were assembled. This Place Cheirisophus ordered to be attacked the Moment he came before it, and, when the first Company suffered, another went up, and then another; for the Place being surrounded with Precipices, they could not attack it on all Sides at once. When Xenophon came up with the Rear-guard, the Targeteers and heavy-armed Men, Cheirisophus said to him, "You come very seasonably, for this Place must be taken, otherwise the Army will be starved."

Upon this they called a Council of War, and Xenophon demanding, what could hinder them from carrying the Place; Cheirisophus answered, "there is no other Access to it but This, and, when any of our Men attempt to gain it, they roll down Stones from the impending Rock, and those they light upon are treated as you see;" pointing at the same time to some of the Men, whose Legs and Ribs were broken. "But, says Xenophon, when they have consumed all the Stones they have, what can hinder us then from going up? For I can see nothing to oppose us, but a few Men, and of these not above two or three that are armed. The Space, you see, through

which we must pass exposed to these Stones, is about one hundred and fifty Feet in Length, of which that of one hundred Feet is covered with large Pines, growing in Groups, against which, if our Men place themselves, what can they suffer, either from the Stones that are thrown, or rolled down by the Enemy? The remaining Part of this Space is not above fifty Feet, which, when the Stones cease, we must dispatch with all possible Expedition. But, says Cheirisophus, the Moment we offer to go to the Place that is covered with the Trees, they will shower down Stones upon us. That, replies Xenophon, is the very Thing we want, for by this Means they will be consumed the sooner. However, continues he, let us, if we can, advance to that Place, from whence we may have but a little Way to run, and from whence we may also, if we see convenient, retreat with Ease."

Upon this, Cheirisophus and Xenophon, with Callimachus of Parrhasie, one of the Captains, advanced, (for the last had the Command that Day of the Captains in the Rear) all the rest of the Officers standing out of Danger. Then about seventy of the Men advanced under the Trees, not in a Body, but one by one, each sheltering himself as well as he could: While Agasias, the Stymphalian and Aristonymus of Methydria, who were also Captains belonging to the Rear, with some others stood behind, without the Trees, for it was not safe for more than one Company to be there. Upon this Occasion Callimachus made Use of the following Stratagem. He advanced two or three Paces from the Tree under which he stood; but, as soon as the Stones began to fly, he quickly retired, and, upon every Excursion, more than ten Cart-Loads of Stones were consumed. When Agasias saw what Callimachus was doing, and that the Eyes of the whole Army were upon him, fearing lest he should be the first Man who entered the Place, he, without giving any Notice to Aristonymus, who stood next to him, or to Eurylochus of Lusia, both of whom were his Friends, or to any other Person, advanced alone, with a Design to get before the rest. When Callimachus saw him passing by, he laid hold on the Border of his Shield. In the mean Time Aristonymus, and, after him, Eurylochus ran by

them both: For all these were Rivals in Glory, and in a constant Emulation of each other. And, by contending thus, they took the Place: For, the Moment one of them had gained the Ascent, there were no more Stones thrown from above.

And here followed a dreadful Spectacle indeed; for the Women first threw their Children down the Precipice, and then themselves. The Men did the same. And here Æneas the Stymphalian, a Captain, seeing one of the Barbarians, who was richly dressed, running with a Design to throw himself down, caught hold of him, and the other drawing him after, they both fell down the Precipice together, and were dashed to Pieces. Thus we made very few Prisoners, but took a considerable Quantity of Oxen, Asses, and Sheep.

From thence the Greeks advanced, through the Country of the Chalybians, and, in seven Marches, made fifty Parasangas. These being the most valiant People they met with in all their March, they came to a close Engagement with the Greeks. They had linen Corslets that reached below their Navel, and, instead of Tassels, thick Cords twisted. They had also Greaves and Helmets, and at their Girdle a short Faulchon, like those of the Lacedæmonians, with which they cut the Throats of those they over-powered, and afterwards, cutting off their Heads, carried them away in Triumph. It was their Custom to sing and dance, whenever they thought the Enemy saw them. They had Pikes fifteen Cubits in length, with only one Point. They staid in their Cities 'till the Greeks marched past them, and then followed harassing them perpetually. After that they retired to their strong Holds, into which they had conveyed their Provisions: So that the Greeks could supply themselves with nothing out of their Country, but lived upon the Cattle they had taken from the Taochians.

They now came to the River Harpasus, which was four hundred Feet broad. And from thence advanced through the Country of the Scythinians, and, in four Days March, made twenty Parasangas, passing through a Plain into some Villages; in which they staid three Days, and made their Provisions. From this Place they made, in four Days March, twenty Para-

sangas, to a large and rich City well inhabited: It was called Gymnias. The Governor of this Country sent a Person to the Greeks, to conduct them through the Territories of his Enemies. This Guide, coming to the Army, said he would undertake, in five Days, to carry them to a Place, from whence they should see the Sea. If not, he consented to be put to death. And, when he had conducted them into the Territories belonging to his Enemies, he desired them to lay waste the Country with Fire and Sword. By which it was evident that he came with this View, and not from any Good-will he bore to the Greeks. The fifth Day they arived at the holy Mountain called Theches. As soon as the Men, who were in the Vanguard, ascended the Mountain, and saw the Sea, they gave a great Shout, which, when Xenophon and those in the Rear, heard, they concluded that some other Enemies attacked them in Front, for the People belonging to the Country they had burned, followed their Rear, some of whom those who had Charge of it, had killed, and taken others Prisoners in an Ambuscade. They had also taken twenty Bucklers made of raw Ox-hides with the Hair on.

The Noise still increasing as they came nearer, and the Men, as fast as they came up, running to those who still continued Shouting, their Cries swelled with their Numbers, so that Xenophon, thinking something more than ordinary had happened, mounted on Horse-back, and, taking with him Lycius and his Horse, rode up to their Assistance: And presently they heard the Soldiers calling out Sea! Sea! and chearing one another. At this they all set a running, the Rear-guard as well as the rest, and the Beasts of Burden, and Horses were driven forward. When they were all come up to the Top of the Mountain, they embraced one another, and also their Generals and Captains with Tears in their Eyes. And immediately the Men, by whose Order it is not known, bringing together a great many Stones, made a large Mount, upon which they placed a great Quantity of Shields made of raw Ox-hides, Staves, and Bucklers taken from the Enemy. The Guide himself cut the Bucklers in Pieces, and exhorted the rest to do the same. After this the Greeks sent back their Guide, giving

him Presents out of the public Stock, these were a Horse, a silver Cup, a Persian Dress, and ten Daricks. But, above all Things the Guide desired the Soldiers to give him some of their Rings, many of which they gave him. Having therefore shewn them a Village, where they were to Quarter, and the Road that led to the Macronians, when the Evening came on, he departed, setting out on his Return that Night. From thence the Greeks, in three Days March, made ten Parasangas, through the Country of the Macronians. During their first Day's March, they came to a River, which divides the Territories of the Macronians from those of the Scythians. The Greeks had on their Right an Eminence of very difficult Access, and on their Left another River, into which the River that served for a Boundary between the two Nations, and which the Greeks were to pass, emptied itself. The Banks of this River were covered with Trees, which were not large, but grew close to one another. These the Greeks immediately cut down, being in Haste to get out of the Place. The Macronians were drawn up on the opposite Side to obstruct their Passage. They were armed with Bucklers and Spears, and wore Vests made of Hair. They animated one another, and threw Stones into the River; but, as they did not reach our Men, they could do us no Damage.

Upon this, one of the Targeteers coming to Xenophon, said, he had formerly been a Slave at Athens; that he understood the Language of these People; "and, says he, if I am not mistaken, this is my own Country, and, if there is no Objection, I will speak to the People." Xenophon answered, "there is none; so speak to them, says he, and first enquire what People they are." He did so, and they answered they were Macronians. "Ask them therefore, says Xenophon, why they are drawn up against us, and seek to be our Enemies?" To which they answered, "because you invade our Country." The Generals then ordered him to let them know it was not with a View of doing them any Injury, "but that, having made War against the King, we were returning to Greece, and desirous to arrive at the Sea." The Macronians asked "whether they were willing to give Assurance of this." The

Greeks answered that they were willing both to give and take it. Upon this the Macronians gave the Greeks a Barbarian Spear, and the Greeks gave them one of theirs; for this, they said, was their Method of pledging their Faith: And both Parties called upon the Gods to be Witnesses to their Treaty.

When this Ceremony was over, the Macronians came in a friendly manner among the Greeks, and assisted them in cutting down the Trees in order to prepare the Way for their Passage. They also supplyed them with a Market in the best Manner they were able, and conducted them through their Country during three Days, 'till they brought them to the Mountains of the Colchians. One of these was very large, but not inaccessible. And, upon this, the Colchians stood in Order of Battle: The Greeks, at first, drew up their Army in a Line, with a Design to march up the Mountain in this Disposition; afterwards, the Generals, being assembled, thought proper to deliberate in what Manner they should engage the Enemy with most Advantage; when Xenophon said it was his Opinion they ought ot change the Disposition, and, dividing the heavy-armed Men into Companies of a hundred Men each, to throw every Company into a separate Column; "for, says he, the Mountain, being, in some Places, inaccessible, and, in others, of easy Ascent, the Line[1] will presently be broken, and this will, at once, dishearten the Men; besides, if we ad-

[1]The Reasons given here by Xenophon for attacking this Mountain in Columns, rather than in a Line, being the same with those alledged by Polybius, in his Dissertation upon the Macedonian Phalanx, for the Advantages which the Roman Legions had over it, I thought the English Reader would not be displeased with a Translation of this Dissertation, wherein we find a much more particular Description of the Macedonian Phalanx, and of all its Operations, than is to be met with in any other Author, particularly, since the 17th Book of Polybius, in which this Dissertation is, not being entire, has not, that I know of, been translated into our Language. From the Reasoning both of Xenophon, and Polybius, it may be gathered that Philip, the Son of Amyntas, and Father to Alexander the Great, who we find, by Diodorus Siculus, instituted the Macedonian Phalanx, did not improve the Greek Discipline by that Institution. This Dissertation of Polybius will be found at the End of this Book.

vance with many Men in File, the Enemy's Line will out-reach ours, and they may apply that Part of it, which out-reaches us, to what Service they think proper; and if with few, we ought not to wonder, if they break through our Line, wherever their Numbers and Weapons unite to make an Impression; and, if this happens in any Part, the whole Line must suffer. To avoid therefore these Inconveniences, I think the several Companies, being thus drawn up in separate Columns, ought to march at so great a Distance from one another, that the last on each Side may reach beyond the Enemy's Wings; by this Means, not only our last Companies will out-reach their Line, but, as we make our Attack in Columns, the bravest of our Men will charge first: and let every Company ascend the Mountain in that Part, where it is of easy Access; neither will it be an easy Matter for the Enemy to fall into the Intervals, when the Companies are placed on each Side, or to break through them, when they advance in Columns: And, if any of the Companies suffer, the next will relieve them, and, if any one of them can, by any Means, gain the Summit, the Enemy will no longer stand their Ground." This was resolved on, so they divided the heavy-armed Men into Companies, and threw every Company into a separate Column; then Xenophon, going from the Right of the Army to the Left, spoke thus to the Soldiers; "Gentlemen! the Enemy, you see before you, are now the only remaining Obstacle, that hinders us from being already in the Place, whither we are, long since, hastening. These, if we can, we ought even to eat alive."

When every Man stood in his Place, and all the Companies were drawn up in Columns, they amounted to about eighty Companies of heavy-armed, each of which consisted of near a hundred Men; the Targeteers, and Archers, they divided into three Bodies of near six hundred Men each, one of which they placed beyond the left Wing, another beyond the Right, and the third in the Center. Then the Generals ordered the Soldiers to make their Vows to the Gods, and, after they had made them, and sung the Pæan, they marched: Cheirisophus, and Xenophon advanced at the Head of those Targeteers, who were beyond the Enemy's Line; these, seeing

them coming up, moved forward to receive them, and some filed off to the Right, and others to the Left, leaving a great Void in the Center: When the Arcadian Targeteers, who were commanded by Æschines, the Acarnanian, saw them divide, they ran forward in all Haste, thinking they fled, and these were the first who gained the Summit. They were followed by the Arcadian heavy-armed Men, commanded by Cleanor, the Orchomenian. The Enemy, when once they began to give Ground, never stood after, but fled some one Way, and some another. After the Greeks had gained the Ascent, they encamped in many Villages full of all sorts of Provisions. Here they found nothing else worthy of their Admiration, but, there being great Quantities of Bee-hives in those Villages, all the Soldiers, who eat of the Honey-Combs, lost their Senses, and were seized with a Vomiting and Purging, none of them being able to stand upon their Legs.[1] Those who eat but little, were like Men very drunk, and those, who eat much, like Mad-men, and some like dying Persons. In this Condition great Numbers lay upon the Ground, as if there had been a Defeat, and the Sorrow was general: The next Day, none of them died, but recovered their Senses, about the same Hour they were seized, and the third, and fourth Day, they got up as if they had taken Physic.

From thence they made, in two Days March, seven Parasangas, and arrived at the Sea, and at Trebisond, a Greek City, well inhabited, and situated upon the Euxine Sea; it

[1]The Accident, here mentioned by Xenophon, is accounted for by Pliny, and further explained by Tournefort: The first says there is a kind of Honey, found in this Country, called from its Effect, Mænomenon; that is, that those who eat of it are seized with Madness: He adds, that the common Opinion is that this Honey is gathered from the Flowers of a Plant called Rhododendros, which is very common in those Parts. Tournefort, when he was in that Country, saw there two Plants, which he calls Chamærhododendros, the first with Leaves like the Medlar, and yellow Flowers; the others with Leaves like the Laurocerasus, and purple Flowers; this, he says, is probably the Rhododendros of Pliny, because the People of the Country look upon the Honey, that is gathered from its Flowers, to produce the Effects described by Xenophon.

is a Colony of the Sinopians, but lies in the Country of the Colchians. Here they staid about thirty Days, encamping in the Villages of the Colchians, and, from thence, made Excursions into their Country, and plundered it: The Inhabitants of Trebisond supplied them with a Market in their Camp, and received the Greeks with great Hospitality, making them presents of Oxen, Barley-Meal, and Wine: They also concluded a Treaty with them in Favour of the neighbouring Colchians, the greatest Part of whom inhabit the Plain, and from these also the Greeks received more Oxen, as a Mark of their Hospitality. After this, they prepared the Sacrifice they had vowed. They had received Oxen enough to offer to Jupiter the Preserver, and to Hercules, in Return for their having conducted them with Safety, and also to the other Gods what they had vowed. They also celebrated a Gymnick Game upon the Mountain, where they encamped, and chose Dracontius of Sparta (who, having involuntarily killed a Boy with his Faulchon, fled from his Country, when he was a Child) to take Care of the Course, and preside at the Game.

When the Sacrifice was over, they delivered the Hides of the Victims to Dracontius, and desired he would lead them to the Place, where he had prepared the Course. This Hill, says he, pointing to the Place where they stood, is the properest Place for running, let them take which Way they will. But, said they, how is it possible for them to wrestle in so uneven, and so bushy a Place? He that is thrown, replied he, will feel the greater Anguish. The Course was run by Boys, the greatest Part of whom were Prisoners, and the long Course by above sixty Cretans. Others contended in Wrestling, Boxing, and the Pancratium. All which made a fine Sight: For many entered the Lists, and, as their Friends were Spectators, there was great Emulation. Horses also ran; they were obliged to run down to the Sea, and turning there, to come up again to the Altar. In the Descent, many rolled down the Hill, but when they came to climb it, the Ascent was so very steep the Horses could scarce come in a Foot-pace. Upon this the Spectators shouted, and laughed, and animated their Friends.

POLYBIUS

THE MACEDONIAN PHALANX

Having promised, in the fourth Book, to compare, upon a proper Occasion, the Arms of the Romans, and Macedonians, and the different Dispositions of their respective Armies, as also to consider the Advantages, and Disadvantages of both; I shall take the Opportunity of their being engaged together, to endeavour to perform my Promise. For since the Macedonian Disposition, recommending itself by Success, formerly prevailed over That of the Asiaticks and Greeks; and. on the other Side, the Roman Disposition has been victorious over That of the Africans, and of all the Inhabitants of the western Part of Europe; and since, in our Time, there has been not only one but many Trials of the Dispositions and Soldiers of both Nations; it will be a useful and a creditable Undertaking to enquire into the Difference of their Discipline, and consider the Cause of the Victories of the Romans, and of their excelling all other Nations in military Atchievements, to the End we may not, by attributing their Success to Fortune, like weak Men, compliment the Victorious without Foundation; but, by being acquainted with the true Reasons of it, celebrate and admire the Conquerors with Justice.

As to what relates to the Battles, in which the Romans were engaged with Hannibal, and the Defeats they received from him, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon them, since they were not owing either to their Arms, or their Disposition, but to a Superiority of Genius, and Conduct in Hannibal. This we have made appear in the Relation of those Battles: And this is farther confirmed by the Event of the War, (for, as soon as the Romans were commanded by a General equal to Hannibal, they presently became victorious) and also by the Conduct of Hannibal himself, who, disliking the Arms his Men had, 'till then, made Use of, upon the first Victory he gained over the Romans, immediately armed his Forces with the Arms

of the latter, and continued to use them ever after. It is also certain that Pyrrhus not only made use of Italian Arms, but also of Italian Forces, in his Engagements with the Romans, placing a Body of Italians, and of his own Men, drawn up in a Phalanx, alternately: However, not even, by this means, was he able to beat the Romans, but the Event of all their Battles proved doubtful. It was necessary to premise these Things, to the End that nothing may seem to contradict our Assertions. I now return to the proposed Comparison. Many Arguments may convince us that nothing can resist the Phalanx in Front, or withstand its Onset, when possessed of all the Advantages, that are peculiar to it: For each Man, with his Arms, when drawn up in Order of Battle, takes up three Feet in Depth; and their Pikes, though originally sixteen Cubits in Length, are however in Reality fourteen; of these, four are taken up by the Distance between his Hands, and so much of the hinder Part of the Pike, as is necessary to balance the fore Part, when presented to the Enemy: This being so, it is plain that the Pike, when grasped with both Hands, and presented, must project ten Cubits before each Man. Hence it happens, that the Pikes of the fifth Rank will project two Cubits, and those of the second, third, and fourth, will project more than two, before the File-leaders, when the Intervals, between the Ranks, and Files of the Phalanx, are properly observed, as Homer has shewn in these Verses:

> An Iron Scene gleams dreadful o'er the Fields,
> Armour in Armour lock'd, and Shields in Shields,
> Spears lean on Spears, on Targets Targets throng,
> Helms stuck to Helms, and Man drove Man along.
>
> — *Mr. Pope.*

This being truly and beautifully expressed, it follows, that five Pikes, differing two Cubits from one another in Length, must project before each of the File-leaders: So that it is an easy matter to represent to one's self, the Appearance, and Strength of the whole Phalanx, when being, as usual, drawn up sixteen deep, and presenting its Pikes, it makes an Attack. Of these sixteen Ranks, those, that exceed the fifth, cannot contribute, with their Pikes, to annoy the Enemy; for which reason they

do not present them, but each Rank inclines them over the Shoulders of that before it, in Order to secure them from above, the Pikes, by their Closeness, defending them from the missive Weapons, which might otherwise, by flying over the foremost Ranks, fall upon those, who stand behind them. Besides, each of these Ranks, pressing in File, with the whole Weight of their Body, the Rank which immediately precedes, they not only strengthen the Attack, but make it impossible for the foremost Ranks to retreat. This being the Disposition of the Phalanx in the Whole, and in Part, we are now to give an Account of the Properties, and Difference of the Roman Arms, and Disposition, by comparing them together. The Romans likewise, with their Arms, take up three Feet in Depth: But, as they cover their Bodies with their Shields, changing their Guard at every Stroke, and make Use of their Swords both to cut, and thrust, it happens that their Line of Battle is in a perpetual Fluctuation; this makes it necessary for each Man to have Room, and an Interval of, at least, three Feet, both in Rank and in File, if it is expected he should do his Duty; from whence it follows, that one Roman will stand opposite to two File-leaders of the Phalanx, and consequently be exposed to, and engaged with ten Spears,, which it is not possible for one Man, when once the Armies close, to cut to Pieces, before he is annoyed by them, or easy to break through, since the hindmost Ranks can contribute nothing either to the Force of the File-leaders, or to the Efficacy of their swords. From what has been said it may be easily concluded that, as I before observed, nothing can withstand the Onset of the Phalanx in Front, while it preserves all the Advantages that are peculiar to it. What therefore is the Cause that gives the Victory to the Romans, and defeats those, who make use of the Phalanx? It is this: military Operations are uncertain both in Time, and Place; whereas the Phalanx has but one Time, one Place, and one Disposition, in which it can perform the Service that is expected from it. If therefore there was a Necessity for the Enemy to engage the Phalanx at its own Time, and Place, in every decisive Action, it is reasonable to conclude, from what has been said, that the latter would always prove victorious. But, if this is possible, and easy to be avoided, why

should that Disposition be, any longer, looked upon as formidable? And, indeed, it is allowed that the Phalanx stands in Need of an even, and open Ground, where there is no Impediment, such as Ditches, Chasms, Valleys, Eminences, and Rivers: For all these are capable of confounding, and breaking its Ranks. It must also be allowed that it is almost impossible, at least, very rare, to find Places of twenty or more Stadia, in which there is nothing of this Nature: However, admit there are such Places; if the Enemy does not think fit to engage the Phalanx there, but, instead of that, marches round, and lays waste the Towns and Country of their Friends, what will be the Service of such a Disposition? Since, while the Phalanx remains in the Places, that are proper for it, so far is it from being able to relieve its Friends, that it is incapable even of preserving itself; for the Enemy will easily cut off their Provisions, the Moment they have, without Opposition, made themselves absolute Masters of the Country: And, if the Phalanx quits the Places that are proper for it, to engage in any Enterprize, it will become an easy Conquest. But, if the Enemy, resolving to engage the Phalanx in an even Place, should, instead of exposing his whole Army at once to the Onset of the Phalanx, retreat a little the Instant it charges, the Event may be easily foreseen from what the Romans now practise. For I desire no Judgment be formed of my Assertions from what I say, but from what has already happened: Since the Romans do not engage the Phalanx with all their Legions draw up in a Line parallel to the former; but some Divisions of them lie behind in Reserve, while others are engaged; so that, whether the Phalanx forces those who are opposite to it to give Way, or is itself forced by them to give Way, the Property of it is destroyed: For, in Order to pursue those who fly, or to fly from those who pursue, some Parts of the Line must leave the rest; which no sooner happens, than an Opening is given for the Reserve to take the Ground they left, and, instead of attacking those who remain in Front, to break in upon their Flanks, or their Rear. Since, therefore, it is an easy Matter to avoid the Opportunities, and Advantages of the Phalanx, but impossible for the latter to avoid Those the Romans have over it, how is it possible there should

not, in reality, be a great Difference between them? Besides, it is some times necessary for the Phalanx to march through, and encamp in all Sorts of Places; at others, to prevent the Enemy, by seizing some advantageous Post; some times, to besiege, at others, to be besieged, and to meet with unexpected Occurrences; for all these Things are incident to War, and either decide the Victory, or greatly contribute to it: And, in all these, the Disposition of the Macedonians is of little, or no Use; it being impossible for the Men, either in Companies, or singly, to perform any Service: Whereas That of the Romans is properly adapted to all; for every Roman, when once armed for Action, is equally fit for all Places, for all Times, and all Occurrences: He is also ready and equally disposed either for a general, or a particular Action, to charge with his Company, or engage in a single Combat. As, therefore, the Disposition of the Romans is vastly superior to That of the Macedonians in the Use of all its Parts, so the Enterprizes of the former are vastly more successful than Those of the latter.